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## RAJASTHAN'S ROLE IN THE STRUGGLE OF 1857

RAJASTHAN'S ROLE  
IN  
THE STRUGGLE OF 1857

BY  
NATHU RAM KHADGAWAT

*With a Foreword*  
*by*  
SHRI MOHAN LAL SUKHADIA



GENERAL ADMINISTRATION DEPARTMENT,  
GOVERNMENT OF RAJASTHAN,  
JAIPUR.



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## FOREWORD

The State Government had decided as early as August, 1956 to bring out an authentic account of the role of Rajasthan in the Freedom Struggle of 1857. The work of writing this book was entrusted to Professor N. R. Khadgawat, who, in his capacity as the Research Officer for the History of Freedom Movement in India, had already collected valuable material from sources mostly hitherto unexplored and unutilised. I am glad to see that Professor Khadgawat has been able to prepare an interesting and reliable history of the 1857 Struggle in Rajasthan. The narrative is mainly based on the Rajputana Residency Records, the well-known works of the British authors dealing with this period of Indian History as well as many indigenous records and sources all of which have been freely quoted and acknowledged by the author. This short but authoritative chronicle will show that Rajasthan played its rightful role in the movement that flared up in many parts of the country with the object of driving away the alien rulers. It illumines a dimly known corner of the history of our people. There were many persons who thought and acted wholly in consonance with the spirit of the struggle. That their attempts failed as the attempts of their compatriots elsewhere in the country was no fault of theirs. It cannot, however, be ignored that in spite of the initial set-back, this first attempt for independence released the forces that culminated in the freedom that we enjoy today. This saga of heroism and self-sacrifice will always be a source of inspiration for us all. We must pay on this occasion our grateful homage to the valiant many, both named and unnamed, who suffered or sacrificed their lives for the cause they cherished so dearly.

Professor Khadgawat deserves commendation for his effort. I trust this volume will be welcomed by the public.

Jaipur,  
August 9th, 1957.

MOHANLAL SUKHADIA,  
*Chief Minister, Rajasthan.*

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## INTRODUCTION

The Upheaval of 1857, which appeared at first 'a small cloud—no bigger than a man's hand,' grew bigger and bigger till at last it overwhelmed the British East India Company with ruin. During this period of storm and stress, the entire Princely Order of Rajasthan 'proved their staunch fidelity to the Paramount Power' and almost all the rulers 'clustered round the waning fragments' of the British Empire. Maharana Swaroop Singh 'exerted his great influence as the acknowledged Head of all the Rajput princes on the side of the British by advising all, who applied to him by letter or by accredited ministers specially deputed for counsel at the crisis, to stand firm in their allegiance to the British Government.' The Maharaja of Karowli sent levies in British support, drove out of his territory the Gwalior rebels and sent a detachment of 800 (followed by a re-inforcement of 1500) to Kotah with a view to rescue the Maharao who had been reduced by the rebels to the status of a virtual prisoner. He even 'issued a proclamation to his subjects, pointing out in strong language the delusion' under which the mutineers had been labouring and called upon his people not only not to join the rebels but to help him also in fighting for the British Government. Maharaja Ram Singh of Jaipur remained absolutely loyal to the British cause even amidst strongest temptations. Despite the revolt of his troops, the Nawab of Tonk supported the British even at 'considerable personal risk and pecuniary loss.' Maharaja Takhat Singh of Jodhpur, though rendered totally powerless to aid the British as a result of the anti-British revolts of his refractory chiefs, did not lose any opportunity to show his pro-British zeal. It was, however, only in case of the rulers of Kotah and Bundi that the A.G.G. could find an opportunity to make certain

adverse remarks in his report on the Mutiny in Rajasthan. Though he had 'no instance to allege of hostility or marked disloyalty on the part of Bundi', he complained against 'the general lukewarmness in the Capture of rebels, and the seizure of their families'. The Maharao of Kotah, despite his pro-British inclinations, had, however, been suspected of complicity with the rebels and an enquiry was set up to investigate into his conduct.

All these princes had been so conspicuously loyal and helpful to the British because the blessings of British Protection had saved them from the grinding tyranny of the Marathas and the Pindaries. Then, most of them were living in 'continual strife with the chief people of their principalities' and as such stood in dire necessity of an overlordship which could afford them full protection against internal anarchy. They had 'no sympathy with one another' and, being devoid of political insight, they were in a way incapable of understanding the turn, Indian politics was likely to take. A century of Maratha rapacity, followed by the inhuman atrocities of the Pindari excursions, had so paralysed the ruling princes of Rajasthan that they were not inclined to under-rate the advantages, arising out of their treaty alliances with the British in favour of an upheaval which, in all probability, might have strengthened their already troublesome feudal chieftains. Naturally, therefore, the mutinous soldiery in Rajasthan could not receive any sympathy or support from the Rajput princes, who had, as such, practically no anti-British role to play in the struggle of 1857. They threw their entire weight in favour of the British. Out of the eighteen ruling princes in Rajasthan, Maharaja Sardar Singh of Bikaner alone could, despite his strong pro-British affiliations, anyhow manage to give shelter to six hundred followers of Tantia Tope and procure for them the

unconditional pardon from the Government of India. The millions at large were, however, seething with discontent and their anti-British inclinations had been manifested on several occasions. The principal jagirdars of Rajasthan supported the anti-British rebels because they feared lest the continuation of the British rule in India should bring about their political ruin. It was, therefore, left to these jagirdars and their contingents to make a common cause with the mutinous soldiery and raise a standard of revolt against the British.

This brief narrative does not aim at attempting a detailed history of the 1857 Upheaval in Rajasthan; nor has there been any intention to evaluate the services, rendered by the Princely Order to the British cause. An attempt has, however, been made to place before the readers only a review of the circumstances under which the Jagirdar rebels of Rajasthan tried to grasp the opportunity, afforded to them by the Mutiny of 1857, to set right the wrongs, the British penetration had done to them in the past. Due notice of the anti-British ferment, prevailing amidst the millions at large inhabiting the arid zones of Rajasthan, has also been taken and the narrative goes to reveal the vague and indistinct sympathy, the mutineers could procure at a number of places in Rajasthan. The factors, responsible for the out-break of the mutiny in the British military cantonments of Nasirabad, Neemuch, Erinpura, Deoli etc., had, however, been the same as those throughout India and as such no detailed analysis of these uprisings was essential. An effort has, however, been made to analyse the anti-British trends responsible for the revolts at Auwa and Kotah.

One word as to the appendices I have given towards the end. I am not inclined to attach any historical importance to the Bardic poems. Being essentially emotional and bardic in their expression, these poems offer too exaggerated a version to be of any utility to sober

history; but they go to reveal the anti-British feeling prevailing in Rajasthan. A critical note along with a number of poems has been given simply with a view to acquaint the reader with the feelings and sentiments of the people who considered the British rule in India more of a curse than a boon and criticised very bitterly the pro-British inclinations of their rulers. A detailed note on the strained relations of Maharaja Man Singh with the British Government has also been added. Maharaja Man Singh was the only ruler in Rajasthan who put up a very strong resistance against the forces of British interference during the pre-Mutiny era and advanced wholehearted support to the anti-British agitators of his age. Though the activities of Maharaja Man Singh had nothing to do with the Struggle of 1857, this note on his relations with the Paramount Power would provide the reader with a historical back-ground of the pre-Mutiny Marwar and the British policy of interference. I had a mind to give copies of quite a large number of documents in Appendix D, but for want of space only a few could be given in their original form and summary notes from the rest had to be prepared and suitably adjusted. As a result of this some confusion has been created as to the spellings for proper names. Most of the British Politicals had been ignorant of the Indian languages, and wrote simply according to the sound which reached their ears unaccustomed to the precise methods of an Oriental people. Naturally, therefore, the methods adopted by them totally altered and disfigured the meaning. I have tried to give in the summary notes at least the modern form of these spellings but the spellings in the documents have been left unaltered purposely with a view to retain their originality. Different Political Officers adopted different spellings for the same proper name with the

result that Jodhpur was spelt by them as 'Joudhpoor', 'Jodhpore' and even 'Jodhpoor'. Similar is the fate of Alaniyavas, Asop, Rajputana, Delhi, Gular, Ajmer, Deesa, Pali, Sojat etc.

Since the publication is to be brought out before the 15th of August, 1957, there is now no time to prepare the index and the bibliography. Looking to the inadequate time at my disposal, the readers, I believe, will not find it very difficult to excuse me for these two serious shortcomings. I should also like to make it clear that the entire responsibility for the views and conclusions, figuring in the narrative, rests with me and the Government of Rajasthan are not in any way associated with them. The State Government conceded to me complete liberty to state my conclusions fully and freely and as such the representation of materials in the narrative does not offer the 'official version' in any sense.

I have to record my deep sense of obligations to Shri Mohan Lal Sukhadia (Chief Minister, Rajasthan Government) for the facilities he granted to me. I am very much indebted to Shri Surendra Mohan Ghose, Shri Balwant Ray G. Mehta and Dr. R. C. Majumdar whose guidance and support inspired me to go ahead with my work. My indebtedness to Shri Jai Narain Vyas, Shri Yugal Kishore Chaturvedi and Shri Jagan Nath Purohit too is equally overwhelming. They took a very keen interest in my work, and came to my help whenever I approached them in this connection.

Since the source materials used in this narrative had originally been collected under the supervision of the Rajasthan State Committee, History of



Freedom Movement in India for their onward transmission to the Central Board of Editors, I have to express my grateful thanks to all the members of the State Committee including Muni Jin Vijay, Prof. N. D. Swami, Dr. M. L. Sharma and Shri Janardan Rai Nagar. My grateful thanks are also due to Dr. Satya Prakash, Dr. Gopi Nath Sharma, Dr. M. L. Menaria, Shri Harbilas Mishra and Shri Chiranji Lal Bhardwaj, who offered their wholehearted co-operation to me in their capacity of Regional Research Scholars attached to the Rajasthan State Committee and collected for me the source materials on the basis of which this narrative has been prepared.

Shri B. S. Mathur, Professor and Head of the Department of History, Maharajas College, Jaipur, who worked under my instructions in the National Archives, unearthed many of the contemporary records published in the Appendices. But for his labours, it would have been impossible for me to complete my work in time. He assisted me in correcting the proofs and saw the book through the press. I am, therefore, indebted to him for the unfailing courtesy and ungrudging co-operation I have always received from him. I have also to thank Messrs Jhabarmal Sharma, Surjan Singh Shekhawat, Badri Prasad Sakaria, Udai Raj Ujjawal, Sita Ram Lalas, Purshottam Lal Menaria and Nathu Lal Vyas for supplying me with relevant bardic poems and other materials in their possession.

I shall be failing in my duty if I do not make a grateful mention of Prof. J. M. Ghose and Dr. A. L. Srivastava, two of my teachers, who made valuable suggestions and encouraged me to devote myself to this work.

My indebtedness to Raja Niranjana Singh, Deputy Secretary to the Government in the General Administration

Department, knows no limit. In his capacity of Secretary to the Standing Committee for the 1857 Centenary Celebrations, he took a keen interest in the publication of this volume and got the whole thing expedited. The manuscript was handed over to the Press on the 27th July, 1957. My grateful thanks are also due to the Officers and the Staff of the Government Central Press, Jaipur whose unfailing energy and hard work alone could succeed in bringing out this publication in its printed form within so short a duration.

515. Chitrangan Marg,  
C Scheme, Jaipur, '  
12th August, 1957.

NATHU RAM KHADGAWAT.

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## CHAPTER ONE

### **ANTI-BRITISH FERMENT IN RAJASTHAN ON THE EVE OF THE STRUGGLE**

The miserable consequences of a century of Maratha depredations had subjected the princely order of Rajasthan to a very great humiliation and loss. The wars, waged for the hand of Krishna Kumari and the claims of Dhonka! Singh, had ruined the principal States of Rajputana. No wonder, therefore, that in this atmosphere of confusion and helplessness, the ruling princes of Rajasthan threw themselves into the arms of the British, entered into treaty alliances and, perhaps, some of them might have been led to think that 'under no supreme Government would their rights and privileges be so thoroughly secure' as under the British. That is why Colonel G. H. Trevor was inclined to think even later on that 'the air of Rajputana is so clear of intrigues against the Sirkar, the loyalty of its chiefs so marked, so warm the welcome accorded by all classes possessed of influence to every measure designed to promote the advancement of the Empire, that it seems hard to imagine how near to mutiny was this vast territory of 1,30,000 square miles†.

Despite the pro-British inclinations of some of her princes, Rajasthan was, however, not without her anti-British heroes who tried to maintain their own against the British. It was in Rajasthan that the British troops, during their onward march from Bengal to break the power of

† Trevor, A Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, page 1.

the Marathas, received two great setbacks—the first, the disaster to Monson's column near the Chambal with the loss of his artillery and baggage; the second, Lake's failure to take Bharatpur by storm. Both, by reason of the blow they inflicted on the British prestige, were extremely serious events. 'For twenty years the virgin fortress of Bhurtpore was the symbol, throughout India, of British vulnerability until, in 1826, Lord Combermere, in vastly different circumstances of armed resources, put paid to its account'§.

Even on the eve of the Indian Mutiny the whole of Rajputana was in a ferment of unrest and what saved the situation was 'the example of the leading princes, particularly of Maharana Saroop Singh of Oodeypore, Maharaja Tukht Singh of Jodhpore, and Maharaja Ram Singh of Jeypore, from whom the other chiefs and others outside the province took their cue'\*. By standing fast they carried with them, for the most part, their own troops, and thus enabled a handful of British Officers to maintain order and recover the military cantonments from which they had been expelled.

Long before the Mutiny took place, there had, however, been in Rajasthan persons like Maharaja Man Singh of Jodhpur who not only kicked the British offer for a friendly alliance but also advanced assistance and shelter to the most prominent anti-British elements of his day including Jaswant Rao Holker, Amirs of Sindh and Appa Sahib of Nagpur¶. Even after the Jodhpur Government had entered into a treaty alliance with the British, he, far from co-operating with them in their policy of suppressing

§ 'Go Bully Bhurtpore'—an article in Blackwood Magazine, 1938.

\* Trevor, A Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, page 1.

¶ Rajputana Gazetteer, Vol. III A, page 70; Treaties, Engagements and Sanads, Vol. III, pages 114 and 126-27.

the anti-British Chiefs, sympathised with agencies, possessing anti-British views and refused to allow the British to interfere in his internal administration\*. Under him, the Jodhpur State 'insulted the British supremacy' a number of times, and 'rendered itself insensible to treaty obligations'†. He even refused to comply with the request of the British Government to assist them in their operations against the Thugs||. On being asked by the Governor-General not to give shelter to the anti-British elements, he insisted upon his right to afford shelter to the refugees\$. He never replied to the letters of admonition, sent to him by the Governor-General, and refused to attend even the Ajmer Durbar of William Bentinck‡. It was only after leading a major expedition against the Jodhpur State and making a show of their armed strength that the British Government could impose upon him a Resident. Even the posting of a high British representative at Jodhpur could not over-awe Man Singh who continued, even thereafter, to treat the British communications with supreme indifference††. His career represents a life-long struggle against the forces of British interference and towards the end of his reign when the British arrested two of his religious directors, of course much against his wishes, he preferred, in sheer disgust, the career of a wandering recluse to that of a puppet prince‡‡.

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\* File No. 5—Jodhpur, Vol. 1, 1834. Residency Records, National Archives, New Delhi.

† Ibid.

|| Ibid.

\$ Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

†† Mr. Ludlow's Kharitas of 12-6-1840; 21-6-1840; 9-7-1840; 27-12-1840; 26-12-1840 and 7-1-1841, Kharita Bahi No. 13, pages 423-26; Dastari Records, Jodhpur.

‡‡ Jodhpur Raj Ki Khyat, Vol. 4, pages 213-14; Veer Vinod, Vol. 2, pages 873-74.

The widespread indignation, given expression to over the deposition of Maharawal Jaswant Singh of Dungarpur†, the attack made by Rathor Bhimji on Mr. Ludlow at Jodhpur‡, and the murder of Captain Blake at Jaipur¶, are incidents which go to suggest that the British penetration had not been accepted by the people of Rajasthan lying low and that there had been some sort of resentment, prevailing against the British§. The murder of Mr. Blake was a pre-arranged affair and it was more or less an open revolt against the British. Mr. Brookes clearly observes, 'the fruits of our former vacillating policy and hesitation were now about to appear, in a more daring form than had been before adopted by those opposed to our measures and to culminate in the murder of an accomplished English gentleman Mr. Blake, of the Civil Service, Assistant to the Agent to the Governor-General and in wounding of the latter high functionary himself'\*'. From the enquiry which took place, and the correspondence subsequently seized, it appeared that 'Jootha Ram was the instigator of the conspiracy. His relation, Dewan Umar Chand, was to entertain some desperate characters, and to commence disturbance by an assault on the Agent to the Governor-General†. This would raise the City, when Jawahar Singh, the son of Chiman Singh, Thakur of Saewar, and a connection of the Rao of Manoharpore, was to march, with a large body of armed men from Manoharpore Rao's city house, straight to the palace and there despatch the pro-British Rawal with

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† Poems of Dalji Mahru.

‡ Ojha, Jodhpur Raj Ka Itihas, Vol. II, page 861.

¶ Brookes, Political History of Jeypore, page 36.

§ Brookes, Political History of Jeypore, page 36.

\* Brookes, Political History of Jeypore, page 36.

† Brookes, Political History of Jeypore, Page 36; from the Records of the Government of India, Foreign Department, No. LXX; published in 1868.

the assistance of the Zenana Party inside<sup>§</sup>. The description proves beyond any doubt that the murder was a deliberately pre-planned conspiracy, organized by high dignitaries of the State in consultation with the queen mother and with the open assistance of the people. Though the pro-British viewpoint attributes it to the machinations and intrigues of Jootha Ram, the popular version holds that the general dissatisfaction, prevailing against the salt treaties and the British policy of interference, was mainly responsible for it<sup>§</sup>.

The high-handedness, with which the British went on supporting the unreasonable claims of Zalim Singh and his successors against Maharao Kishore Singh of Kotah, boiled the blood of the Hada Rajputs and they all stood up in arms against the British and their protege, the Jhala\*. Maharao Kishore Singh fought with the assistance of these Rajputs an open engagement with the British near Mangrol†, and the ferocity and valour, shown by the followers of Kishore Singh on that occasion, stands as a testimony to the fact that the Rajputs, despite their defeat, disunion and deterioration, had not been completely enslaved by that time. Maharao Kishore Singh had to wander here and there for a number of years and it was through the mediation of the Maharana of Udaipur that he could anyhow be persuaded to enter into a fresh treaty alliance with the British¶.

§ Brookes, Political History of the State of Jeypore, page 36.

§ 'म्हारे राजा भोलो सांभर तो दे दीनी अंगरेज नै, म्हारा टावर भूखा रोयी तो मांगै तीखै लूंगरी' these two lines of a popular folklore reveal the frustration over the loss of Sambhar.

\* Sharma, Kotah Rajya Ka Itihas, Vol. II, pages 568 to 573.

† Ibid.

¶ Ibid.



The solitary instances of the anti-British ferment, narrated above, can be better understood in the light of the contingent frustration, prevailing among the feudal sector of the Rajasthani society and also the resulting anti-British trends responsible for quite a large number of sporadic agitations and revolts, engineered by the Rajput Jagirdars against the British. The raising of the Kotah Contingent‡, the Jodhpur Legion and the Shekhawati Brigade had not been done solely with a view to assist the British Government in the suppression of the lawless bands of dacoits but also to keep the anti-British elements in check. For a number of years the Shekhawati Brigade waged incessant warfare against the refractory chiefs of the area. In January 1837, the Brigade besieged the fort of Khiali and in the autumn of the same year there was an outbreak on the part of the Maji of Sikar and her adherents, who garrisoned the fort of Sikar with 400 matchlocks. The Brigade had also to besiege the forts of Marwar and Dialpura whose chiefs and their followers were surprised, defeated and taken prisoners\*. The fortified village of Tuliasar was also attacked and the fort of Khetri, too, had to be stormed twice, once in 1840 and then in 1843§. The pitched engagements, which Forster had to wage against the Maji of Sikar, the Jagirdar of Khiali, the feudal forces of Marwar and Dialpura, the citizens of Tuliasar and the chief of Khetri, go to reveal that they, who fought against him, were no weaklings and that they resisted the British troops bravely and fought to the last.

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‡ During the years 1832-35 and even before a number of levies and the like were organized and equipped in different parts of Rajputana to assist the British Govt. Amongst others so raised were the Kotah Contingent, the Jodhpur Legion and the Shekhawati Brigade.

|| History of the 13th Bengal Infantry, pages 13 to 21.

\* Ibid.

§ Ibid.

It is just possible that the Jagirdars of Shekhawati and other parts might have resisted the British penetration out of their vested interests and local patriotism, but the support, they could receive from the millions at large living around them, goes to testify the anti-British character of the people. It would have been almost impossible for a handful of Jagirdars to have waged incessant warfare against the trained battalions of the Company, if the population, residing in that area, had not sided with them. The sporadic risings, engineered by the refractory chiefs in Rajasthan during the first half of the 19th century, and the enthusiasm with which they had been depicted in the folklore, certainly go to establish that, whatever might have been the motives, leading to them, they were definitely anti-British§.

The anti-British ferment of the people can also be evaluated on the basis of the praise which has been lavished even upon the popular bandits who fought pitched engagements against the British. Their anti-British activities could procure for them so much of popular support that they could ravage British territories, surprise the pay office at Nasirabad, cut down the guard and carry off Government money\*. Hari Singh, leader of a party of Qazzacks, could beat off cavalry many a time and the robber chiefs of Gudha could collect as many as 3000 strong†. It was with a very great difficulty that the joint efforts of Anderson and Forster, could, with the assistance of their own troops and the troops of the Jaisalmer and Bikaner chiefs, anyhow arrest Dungar Singh who later on escaped from the

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§ Bardic poems, composed during the first half of the 19th century in Rajasthan, pay a glowing tribute to the anti-British inclinations of these feudal chieftains. All such poems along with a critical note have been given at the end by way of a separate appendix.

\* History of the 13th Bengal Infantry, pages 13 to 16.

† Ibid.

Agra Jail and was at his free-booting trade again†. The fact that they could become, even in their life time, almost legendary figures and attract so much of popular attention as to be regarded invincible, goes to establish that the anti-British sentiment was at its climax during the first half of the 19th Century. They mostly plundered British Cantonments, Government Treasuries and rich capitalists¶. They used to distribute their booty among the poor and their plundering propensities were mostly conducted in British territories‡. The popular folklore eulogising their exploits contains a reference to the miserable plight to which the people had been reduced as a result of unemployment and economic exploitation||. Naturally, therefore, the popularity of these bandit chiefs was indirectly associated with the anti-British ferment of the people, who were, thus led to lavish their praise even upon these bandits in view of the resistance offered by them to the British. The activities of the bandit chiefs cannot, however, be recognised either as national or as patriotic uprisings but the sympathy and support, they could receive from the general public, certainly show that the anti-British ferment had been of so pronounced a type that the people were out to sympathise with the anti-British activities of any one and everyone. That is why these solitary instances could catch the imagination of the popular muse.

† History of the 13th Bengal Infantry, pages 13 to 16.

¶ Popularity of these robber chiefs can be better understood in the light of the difficulties, the British troops in Rajasthan had to face. Forster's various reports regarding the attitude of hostility and non-co-operation, put up by the people in general towards the British, amply bear out this fact.

‡ Ibid.

|| A line from a popular ballad reveals this fact—

“मिनखां निठगी मोंठ बाजरी, घोड़ां निठग्यो घास”

The emotional outburst of anti-British ferment in form of poems and popular songs reveals that the British rule in Rajasthan had, by the year 1857, become unpopular and the people at large were in a way dissatisfied. It may not be considered so convincing an evidence to prove the patriotism of the persons, whose activities it stands to depict, but it can certainly serve as an illustration to testify the anti-British inclinations of the persons who composed those poems. Kavi Raja Banki Das condemned the slavish mentality of his contemporary princes and exhorted the people in general to take up arms against the foreigner\$. Mahakavi Surya Mal Mishran, too, in his letters to his Jagirdar friends very bitterly criticised the pro-British attitude of the princely order\$. Anti-British heroes like the Jat rulers of Bharatpur, Maharaja Man Singh of Jodhpur, Rawat Keshari Singh of Saloomber etc., have received unheard of praise at the hands of these poets, while the lethargy and subservience of the ruling princes, devoted to the British, have been condemned with unparalleled fury\*.

§ Kavi Raja Banki Das's famous poem:—

“आयो इंगरेज मुलक रै ऊपर आहंस लीधा खेचि उरा,  
 धणिया मरै न दोधी धरती धणिया ऊभो गई बरा ।  
 फौजां देख न कीधी फौजां दोयण किया न खला डला,  
 खवां खांच खावंद रै उण हित चूडै गई इला ।  
 महि जातां चींचाता महिलां औ दुय मरण तरण अबसाण,  
 राखो रै किहक रजपूती मरद हिन्दू की मुसलमान ।  
 पुर जोधाण, उदैपुर, जैपुर, यह थांरा खूटा पर बाण,  
 आकै गई आवसी आकै बाकै आसल किया बखाण ।”

§ In his letter to Phool Singh of Peeplya dated 1st Bright-half of Posh V. S. 1914, Surya Mal has expressed these views.

\* Poems of Banki Das, Surya Mal, Girvardan, Adha Jawa, Sandu Ragho Das, Adha Jadu Ram, etc.

The general atmosphere in Rajasthan, on the eve of the mutiny of 1857, was neither so peaceful and nor so pro-British as the reports from the British political officers would lead us to believe†. Only a few years before the actual occurrence of the mutiny, even the ruling princes had been forced by the popular fury to afford shelter and protection to popular bandits like Doongji and Jawaharji who had been declared outlaws by the British¶. A large band of Shekhawats could journey to Agra after Doongji had been arrested for the express purpose of effecting the prisoner's escape from the jail and Doongji was again at his freebooting trade‡. Such a thing, of course, could not have happened, had they been necessitated journeying through hostile territory, but many chiefs even then, some through fear and some through sympathy, never impeded these robbers||. The activities of the recusant chiefs in Mewar had infuriated the paramount power to so great an extent that Sir Henry Lawrence had to recommend to the Government of India that the chiefs of Saloomber and Bheender should be ejected and deposed by the march into Mewar of two strong columns\*. The resentment against the British in Marwar reached so great a pitch of intensity that a catastrophe, caused at Jodhpur by a storm exploding a subterranean store of a magazine of powder (responsible for the blowing up of the fort wall and hurling through the air large pieces of rocks and thus bringing death and destruction to as many as 200 persons) was attributed by the people to the anger of God to visit the head of the impious

† Observations made by various British historians and political agents.

¶ History of the 13th Bengal Infantry, pages 13 to 36.

‡ Ibid.

|| Ibid.

\* Showers, A Missing Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, pages 108 & 109.

sovereign who remained true and faithful to the treaties made with the unbelievers\$. Maharaja Takhat Singh of Jodhpur, being a nominee of the British, found his position very unsafe as a result of the manifold revolts, engineered by his feudal chieftains. He and his pro-British officers were disliked by the people of Marwar to so great an extent that the Maharaja felt very uneasy and made no secret of his fear that his position was as insecure as that of the Europeans§. Neither the Nawab of Tonk nor the Maharao of Kotah could have, during those troubled times, any confidence in their troops and that is why they advised the British officers to avoid coming into their territories†.

What could have been the cause of this resentment against the British? The millions at large, inhabiting the arid zones of Rajasthan, might have disliked the British rule because it brought in its wake misery and economic exploitation. The determining cause, however, lay in the British attempt to force western ideas upon an eastern people. The western institutions, though good and beneficial, were, however, based upon principles, with which the people of Rajasthan had no sympathy. The abolition of Sati System appeared to them an utter ruin of their centuries old civilization. The Jagirdars of Rajasthan hated and feared the British because of considerations which, though mostly selfish, lay at the root of their time honoured traditions and privileges. Before the advent of the British, the ruling princes in Rajasthan solely relied upon the sympathy and support of their Jagirdars and as such could not dare go against their wishes even if they desired to do

§ Munshi Jwala Sahai, Loyal Rajputana, pages 278-279.

§ Munshi Jwala Sahai, Loyal Rajputana, page 286.

† Lawrence's report to the Government of India as quoted by Trevor in his Chapter of Indian Mutiny, pages 12-13

so. The subsidiary system, however, strengthened their position and now, being confident of the British support at their back, they seldom cared for the age-old usages, customs and traditions. With the help of the British, they were out to commute the service of the retainers, their Jagirdars used to supply, into money payments—an innovation on feudal usage affecting their dignity. With the establishment of British Cantonments in Rajasthan, the princes no longer required the military assistance which they previously used to seek from their feudal chieftains and consequently, therefore, they could now manage to ignore and even insult their chiefs. The Jagirdars resented the disbanding of their own troops and they were certainly not in favour of losing the power and control, they hitherto exercised over their jagirs. Their specific grievance against the British concerned an interference, made by the British directives, in the old custom according to which no subject of an estate could leave his birth place and settle in another without the permission of its master, the Thakur. Sir Henry Lawrence had directed his political agents to do away with this custom and many persons, being involved in heavy debt took advantage of this innovation, shifted their quarters and the demands of their feudal lords for their return proved ineffective¶. Naturally, therefore, the feudal chieftains were against the enforcement of this new rule which reduced their power to sheer nonentity. As a result of British penetration and the establishment of their cantonments in Rajasthan, the Jagirdars lost not only their power, privileges and prerogatives but had been reduced to a stage of absolute helplessness. The high-handedness of a number of princes, who, now being confident of the British support at their back, tried to crush these Jagirdars,

led the feudal chieftains to believe that the continuation of the British rule in India would mean their political ruin.

Rightly, therefore, the expressions figuring in the letters of Surya Mal ~~appealed to them~~ and, though actuated by their selfish motives, they in a way believed that the onward march of the British would wipe Hinduism out of existence and, perhaps, set up an entirely new order. Being politically conscious of the loss, they had to sustain as a result of British innovations, they tried in their own way to put their grievances on a doctrinaire basis and go ahead with their anti-British slogans. Being frustrated and selfish, they lacked constructive statesmanship and their efforts, however bold and audacious they might have been, proved fruitless and ended in a failure.

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## CHAPTER TWO

### MUTINOUS SOLDIERY AND THEIR RINGING SHOUTS

Rajputana, situated to the north-west of Central India, was considered even in the 19th century one of the most interesting provinces of India by the British\*. The arid zones of Rajputana, in spite of being flat, uncultivated and desolate, were not without spots of romantic beauty†. The high-spirited Rajputs of this area had never been completely reduced to subjection even by the Mohammedan invaders but they had suffered much at the hands of the Marathas and the Pindaries‖. Though the blessings of British protection, conferred upon the Rajput princes during the past 40 years of foreign rule, had prepared them to cluster round the waning fragments of the British power, the feudal chieftains of Rajputana hated and feared the Paramount Power§. 'It seemed certain that, if mutiny were to break out in the army which formed the chief strength of the Government, and compel it to relax the grip of its restraining hand, their hatred would prove stronger than their fear'†.

All the native States of Rajputana had been under the supreme charge of Colonel George Patrick Lawrence,

\* Malleson, *The Indian Mutiny of 1857*, page 264.

† Holmes, *A History of the Indian Mutiny*, page 149.

‖ Malleson, *The Indian Mutiny*, page 264; Holmes, *A History of the Indian Mutiny*, page 149.

§ Holmes, *A History of the Indian Mutiny*, page 264; Pritchard, *Mutinies in Rajputana*, page 6.

† Holmes, *A History of the Indian Mutiny*, page 264; Pritchard, *Mutinies in Rajputana*, (p.p. 8, 9) Enclosures to Secret letters.

the then Officiating Agent to the Governor-General\$. He was appointed on this post after his brother Sir Henry had been transferred to Lucknow\*. Colonel Dixon, being the Commissioner of Ajmer-Merwara, held charge of the civil administration of that area and was under the control of the Lieutenant-Governor of the North West Provinces¶. The native States were being supervised by British Political Officers. They all acknowledged the general control of the Agent to the Governor-General.

Before coming to Abu as A.G.G. in 1857, George Patrick Lawrence had been the Political Resident at Udaipur for seven years and as such was fully acquainted with the general atmosphere of the area. Besides being a 'gallant, straight-forward, hard-headed and brave officer, Lawrence, in the course of 36 years' adventurous official career had given ample evidence of a strong good sense and a solid ability which had raised him to the headship of a great province'‡. When on May 19, 1857 the intelligence of the Mutiny at Meerut (10-5-1857) reached him, he was at the summer station of Mount Abu.

At that time there were no railway lines in Rajputana because the railway from Calcutta to Lahore had not advanced beyond Cawnpore and 'not a mile of the present line between Ajmer and Bombay was open'†. At a distance of 16 miles from Ajmer lay Nasirabad which, being garrisoned by two regiments of Bengal Native

\$ Trevor, A Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, page 2.

\* Trevor, A Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, page 2.

¶ Ibid.

‡ Holmes, A History of the Indian Mutiny, page 149; Trevor, A Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, page 2.

† Trevor, A Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, page 2.

Infantry, the 15th and 30th, the 1st Bombay Cavalry and a native battery of field artillery, was considered a fairly strong British post. The Kotah Contingent, consisting of a regiment of native cavalry and one of infantry, was posted at the Cantonment of Deoli—only at a distance of sixty miles from Nasirabad. A brigade of native troops, horse, foot and artillery, was at Neemuch which was one hundred and twenty miles away from Nasirabad. At a distance of one hundred miles from Ajmer was situated Erinpura which was held by the Jodhpur Legion composed of irregular troops maintained by the Jodhpur State. At Kherwara, situated at a distance of fifty miles from Udaipur, there was a local corps of Bheels under British officers. Beawar was held by another local corps of Mhairs. Thus in all there were five thousand native soldiers but no white ones and 'all of them (save the local corps) were destined to revolt and spread the flames of Mutiny'\*.

The presence of five thousand sepoys in Rajputana became a source of very great anxiety to the A.G.G. specially because there were no British soldiers to check them||. Naturally, therefore, he issued a proclamation to all the native princes that they should try their level best to maintain peace within their respective territories and their troops should be ready to assist the British Government§. He was extremely eager to protect Ajmer which, being in the heart of Rajputana, held a strategic position and whose occupation by the rebels might have affected the British interests adversely because there was a well-stored arsenal, a full treasury and enormous wealth at

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\* Trevor, A Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, page 2.

|| Ibid.

§ Holmes, A History of the Indian Mutiny, page 148; Trevor, A Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, page 2.

Ajmer†. At that time there were two companies of native infantry at Ajmer and hence the regiment of Mhairs was called from Beawar with a view to replace the sepoys before they could mature any plans of resistance§. With a view to over-awe the native troops at Nasirabad a light field force from Deesa was requisitioned and the Government of Bombay was requested to send all the available European troops to Agra via Gujrat and Rajputana¶. An effort was also made to requisition for the Kotah Contingent to be posted at Ajmer but it had already been despatched to Agra‡. All these arrangements were being made in advance by Lawrence because 'for some time past the seeds of rebellion had been wafted abroad in the bazars and cantonments by emissaries from Delhi in the shape of fakirs'\*. Though the British Officers commanding the native regiments in Rajputana had ample faith in the fidelity of their men, there was every reason to fear an insurrection because 'the whole of Rajputana was in a ferment of unrest'‖. There was another cause for anxiety. Ajmer was held by two companies of the 15th Regiment Bengal Native Infantry and since they had recently come from Meerut and were composed of indisciplined Poorbeahs, it was thought proper to replace them with Mhairs, who, being hill men and of low caste, were reported of having no sympathy for the mutineers§. The arrival of the Mhairs at Ajmer saved it and 'with it the whole of Rajputana'\*\*\*.

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† Holmes, A History of the Indian Mutiny, page 150; Trevor, A Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, pages 3 and 4.

§ Holmes, A History of the Indian Mutiny, page 150; Trevor, A Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, pages 3 and 4.

¶ Trevor, A Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, page 4; Holmes, A History of the Indian Mutiny, pages 150-151.

‡ Trevor, A Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, page 3.

\* Trevor, A Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, page 4.

‖ Ibid.

§ Ibid.

\*\*\* Ibid.

It was on May 28 that the two regiments of infantry at Nasirabad rose up in arms. The initiative was taken by the 15th regiment whose sepoy seized the guns of the battery. 'The bungalows and public buildings were plundered and burned'. Even the 1st Bombay Cavalry failed to follow the lead of their officers, it refused to charge and, though its sepoy refrained from rebellion and provided escort for the women and children of the Europeans on their way to Beawar, two of its officers were killed and three were wounded. Having raised a standard of revolt, they 'streamed off to Delhi'¶.

Why did they not attack Ajmer? Trevor has suggested a number of arguments. In the first place, 'they were so full of loot that they did not want more'. In the second place they thought that the capture of the magazine at Ajmer would be an 'arduous business'. In the third place they were afraid of the arrival of reinforcements from Deesa since a requisition for the 83rd foot had already been sent and the European troops were on their march towards Rajputana. In the fourth place they feared lest the rich bankers of Ajmer should make a common cause with the British. In the fifth place, the Bombay Cavalry had with them their wives and children and as such they had no desire to take the risk‡.

Iltudus C. Prichard, an officer of the 15th Native Infantry, has left behind a 'wonderfully vivid' account of

¶ Trevor, A Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, page 5; Holmes, A History of the Indian Mutiny, Page 151 states, 'the troops at Nasirabad mutinied, and setting their faces towards Delhi, plundered villages, destroyed bungalows and threw every thing into confusion'. This seems more or less a sheer exaggeration.

‡ All these arguments have been advanced by Mr. Trevor; (but in fact they rushed towards Delhi because their presence there was essential in view of the impending danger); A Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, page 5.

the hasty march of the mutineers. According to him the rebels made good long marches despite the fact that the roads were heavy and the mutineers were 'encumbered with immense quantities of plunder'. Though they had their sick, their women and children and baggage, with them, they moved fast even at the cost of their plunder a portion of which they had to leave behind in the villages on their way. One other observation, made by Prichard, is equally significant. The Raj troops, accompanying the British Officers, were not only afraid to attack the sepoy<sup>s</sup> but they were sympathetic also because they believed that the British had 'tried to temper with their religions'<sup>||</sup>.

The extraordinary haste with which the mutinous soldiery marched off to Delhi is one of the strangest phenomena of the Nasirabad mutiny. At a time when Carnell, the military officer-in-charge of defence operations at Ajmer, was 'passing sleepless days and nights providing against danger from without and within'<sup>§</sup> and was so nervous that on the slightest suspicion he 'quietly disposed of a Poorbeah by a rope'<sup>†</sup> and did not allow a large body of Jodhpur troops, sent to Ajmer by the loyal Maharaja of Jodhpur, to remain there because they indulged in disrespectful demonstrations and were, as such, distrusted<sup>\$</sup>, the mutineers from Nasirabad, far from taking any advantage of the situation arising at Ajmer, ran in astonishing haste towards Delhi. As a matter of fact even the Raj troops, chasing them, were sympathetic towards them<sup>¶</sup>. The arguments, advanced by Trevor, do not seem convincing enough to explain their hasty march

<sup>||</sup> An officer of the 15th Native Infantry, Itudus C. Prichard, afterwards well-known editor of the Delhi Gazette has left behind a personal narrative on the Mutinies in Rajputana published in 1880.

<sup>§</sup> Trevor, A Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, page 6.

<sup>†</sup> Ibid.

<sup>\$</sup> Ibid.

<sup>¶</sup> Prichard, The Mutinies in Rajputana.

and an entirely different approach has to be made. Not only the Nasirabad mutineers but the Auwa rebels, headed by seven principal chiefs of Marwar, at a later date, decided to march towards Delhi first, wait upon Bahadur Shah, obtain a firman and then turn towards Ajmer†. The intercepted correspondence submitted by Captain Showers to the A.G.G. also reveals that the Auwa rebels were being asked by the leaders at Delhi to proceed there||. The circumstances of the case, if properly weighed, would clearly establish that the mutineers rushed to Delhi partly because their assistance there was urgently required and partly because they were eager to obtain a firman from the Emperor so that their activities may be legalised. It is this particular aspect of their aspirations which reveals that their love for authority was greater than their love for plunder and also that there did exist a symbol of Central authority at Delhi whose firman would provide a statutory legal basis with whose assistance they could win the millions at large to their side. It is also an evidence to prove that after all there was an underlying doctrinaire basis as well and their efforts were directed towards a political aim. The mutinous soldiery of Nasirabad could very easily have taken possession of Ajmer, plundered it and strengthened their position. But it seems that the Muslims and Hindus alike, without doubt, looked to Delhi and Bahadur Shah during those tumultuous days. There, also, appears to have been the unanimous and spontaneous agreement that Bahadur Shah alone had the right to be the Emperor of India.

The incidents, which took place at Nasirabad, terrified the British Officers at Neemuch and they tried to get the

† Intercepted correspondence enclosed with Captain Showers' secret communication No. 90, dated the 25th March, 1858 to A.G.G.

|| Ibid.

native officers of the Brigade to swear in their presence that they would remain faithful to their duty§. Colonel Abbott paraded the troops and informed the men of the oath their native officers had taken†. When he was calling upon the troops to stand firm in their allegiance, a trooper of the Cavalry, by name Mahomed Ali Beg§ stepped forth and challenged Abbott insolently and told him that since the British had broken their own oaths, the Indians were under no obligation to stick to theirs. It was, however, on June 3, at mid-night that the ringing shouts of an infuriated soldiery proclaimed the breaking out of the revolt at Neemuch¶. 'Every house in the station was simultaneously fired, and the startled inmates fled in wild affright for their lives'‡. The European residents fled in all directions through the night and the attempts of Captain Macdonald to defend the fort proved of no avail because the wing of the regiment on duty in the fort also joined the general revolt, plundered the treasury and shared in the spoil||. But they spared their European officers and their families, 'the only victims to their fury being the wife and children of a sergeant of artillery murdered in their own house'\*. The insurgents then made a movement to march on Delhi, taking Agra by the way, intelligence of which caused great consternation\*\*. At Neemuch, too, 'every incident of the outbreak at Nasirabad was repeated, on perhaps a wider scale; there

§ Showers, A Missing Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, page 27.

† Ibid.

§ Mahomed Ali Beg said, "What are our officer's oaths to us ? Or even our own ? Why should we keep our oaths to you who have broken your own ? Have you not taken Oudh ?" Showers, A Missing Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, page 27.

¶ Showers, A Missing Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, pages 27, 28 and 29.

‡ Ibid.

|| Ibid.

\* Ibid.

\*\* Ibid.



was more plunder and burning of houses, the prisoners were released from Jail, and 1,77,000 rupees were carried off from the civil treasury and military chests\$. They left Neemuch on June 4, halted at Nimbahera, where they were entertained by the local authorities and next morning they continued their march.

It appears, rather, astonishing as to why the A.G.G. did not make any effort to check the advance of these rebels. By attacking the mutineers, they could have brought about disorganization and dispersion in the rebel camp, 'save the British station of Deoli with its ordnance, magazine etc.' and set an example which might have operated as a deterrent‡. Captain Showers addressed specific communications to the A.G.G. in this connection requesting him to strike a blow but Brigadier General Patrick Lawrence did not feel himself justified in running any risk in the present state of national feeling||, and the destruction of the mutineers was to him very secondary to the preservation of Ajmer. He feared an immediate rise of the country which was to ensure immediately after the movement of British troops from Ajmer. As Showers observes, 'on the other hand reversing the picture—by the Neemuch mutineers being suffered to pass openly through the country unchallenged, without a blow being struck at them, by the British power directly assailed in its highest imperial interests, not only were these advantages lost, but the disaffected throughout the country were encouraged by the apparent abandonment

\$ Trevor, A Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, page 7.

‡ Showers, A Missing Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, pages 44-45.

|| 'However much I desire to strike a blow against the mutineers with the troops here, I do not feel myself justified in running any risk in the present state of national feeling, and the destruction of the mutineers is to me very secondary to the preservation of Ajmer'. Lawrence's letter dated Nasirabad, 16th June, 1857.

of the position and prestige of a ruling power'¶. The Neemuch Brigade plundered the station of Deoli, represented with the Mehidpur Cavalry, which had there joined it§. They were cordially welcomed, entertained and joined by a large body of the population at Tonk†. Being thus strengthened and reinforced, they marched upon Agra where the soldiery belonging to the Kotah contingent also joined them. With this accession of strength in numbers and prestige the Neemuch mutineers joined their brethren in rebellion at Delhi and gave 'support and impetus to the movement that urged the three days' vigorous attack in the British position on the 14th, the 18th and the 20th July, by which Brigadier Wilson lost the services of hundreds of men of his already slender band, and was placed for the time on the defensive'\$.

On June 6, 7 and 8, Neemuch was reoccupied with the assistance of Raj troops from Kotah and Bundi but on the 9th a body of cavalry of the Mehidpur contingent mutinied on its way to Neemuch, murdered two of its British officers, returned to Mehidpur post haste and eventually joined the Neemuch mutineers beyond Deoli‡. 'With the departure of two considerable parties of mutinous soldiery, Rajputana had lost a lot of bad blood and could breathe more freely'\*. The British position at Nasirabad and Ajmer was further strengthened by the arrival of 400 European troops of Her Majesty's 83 foot, the 12th Bombay Native Infantry and one troop of Horse Artillery.

¶ Showers, A Missing Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, page 45.

§ Ibid.

† Ibid.

§ Showers, A Missing Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, page 46.

‡ Trevor, A Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, page 7.

\* Trevor, A Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, page 8.

Colonel Lawrence hurried down from Abu|| and took charge of the troops in the province and also of the Commissionership of Ajmer Merwara. Ajmer was further garrisoned by 100 men of the 83rd, the old fort was repaired and provisions for six months were laid in¶. Lawrence had all along been worried over the defence of Ajmer and the preservation of the arsenal, treasury and the city§. According to him 'the importance of Ajmer cannot be over estimated. It was to Rajputana what Delhi was to northern India, and an insurrection there would have been a focus for all the disaffected of the country'†. Brigadier General Lawrence wrote in his report to the Government of India in 1858 that the preservation of Ajmer is attributable to Lieutenant Carnell's well-timed and well-executed move, backed by the loyalty of the Mhairs and the prudent and energetic measures immediately taken by Lieutenant Carnell 'to put the magazine in a state to resist the attack from Nasirabad mutinous sepoys and to over-awe the large and populous city'\$. Though there was no dearth of 'fierce and sullen faces' in Ajmer, the peace remained on the whole undisturbed save on August 9, when an outbreak in the Jail led to the escape of 50 prisoners‡.

It was, however, in the months of August and September that the revolutionary ferment in Rajasthan was at its height. The incidents which took place at Nasirabad and Neemuch gradually affected the indigenous population of the area as well. Captain Showers was publicly

|| Trevor, A Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, page 8.

¶ Ibid.

§ Trevor, A Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, page 14.

† Ibid.

\$ Trevor, A Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, page 13.

‡ Trevor, A Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, page 8.

hooted on his way to the palace at Udaipur and the rumours served to intensify the excitement||. Even the Maharana 'seemed stunned with the fast-following blows'¶ to the British power and, with a view to pacify the recusant chiefs, Captain Showers had to issue a special proclamation§ to the effect that on his return from Neemuch he would enquire personally into their grievances. Rawat Kesari Singh of Saloomber who was leading the recusant chiefs of Mewar, took advantage of the temporary weakness of the paramount power through the outbreak of the Mutiny and demanded the personal proceeding of the Maharana to Saloomber to conduct him to court failing which he would set up a rival to the throne at the ancient Capital of Chittor†. This ultimatum on the part of the rebellious feudatory, when communicated to the Political Agent, caused much consternation because 'the historic associations, at once proud and mournful, clustering round the beetling battlements of the isolated hill fortress of Chittor, were well calculated to lend prestige to the movement'\$ . Even the Mewar troops were actually turned against the British at Neemuch by circulating a report that the British were bent on destroying their caste and had mixed human bone-dust in the flour served out to them‡. The situation could be saved with a very great difficulty by Arjun Singh Sahiwala\* who reassured the troops by eating before their eyes a chupattie made out of the flour. Bukshee Gulam

|| Showers, A Missing Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, page 11.

¶ Showers, A Missing Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, page 12.

§ Showers, A Missing Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, page 15.

† Showers, A Missing Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, pages 50-51.

\$ Showers, A Missing Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, page 51.

‡ Showers, A Missing Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, pages 84 and 85 ;  
Veer Vinod, page 1968.

\* Autobiography of Sahiwala Arjun Singh, pages 55 to 61.

Mohee-ood-deen Khan of Nimbahera had actually entertained the Neemuch mutineers§. The report of the battle of Bundela-ki-Serai, before Delhi, effected an instantaneous change in the attitude of the Shahpura people who closed the gates of their fort and offered neither peshwai nor supplies to Captain Showers and his troops, when they reached there in pursuit of the Neemuch mutineers||. At Tonk the mutineers were cordially welcomed and entertained, and joined by a large body of the population of that place and other†. As early as May 31 the Bharatpur troops had revolted at Hodul. The Bharatpur camp no longer remained a place of safety for the British‡. The Bharatpur artillery men pointed some of their guns at the group of Englishmen. The tents of Englishmen were burnt, bungalows were fired and property was plundered\$. Even the troops of the Jodhpur Durbar, sent by him to Ajmer, indulged in ugly demonstrations and as such had to be removed from that place¶. Wild rumours regarding all these British set backs encouraged the anti-British ferment in Rajasthan to adopt an audacious attitude. 'In all parts of the country were turbulent elements of one kind or another, and inconsistencies and discordances were as nothing when there was a common belief to be encouraged—a common object to be gained. In Rajputana as elsewhere, there was a prevailing faith that it was the intention of the British Government to destroy the religion of the country and some openly talked of the restoration of the Padshah\*'. Though the Rulers of Jodhpur, Jaipur, Udaipur, Kotah and other native States of Rajasthan had

§ Showers, A Missing Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, page 32.

|| Showers, A Missing Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, pages 39 and 40.

† Showers, A Missing Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, pages 45 and 46.

‡ Kaye, A History of the Sepoy War in India, Vol. III, page 241.

\$ Ibid.

¶ Trevor, A Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, page 6.

\* Kaye, A History of the Sepoy War in India, Vol. III, page 351.

responded favourably to the letters of Lawrence, their own wavering attitude and the anti-British inclinations of their Chiefs led the British Politicals to think that the 'probability of their breaking into rebellion, when time and opportunity should serve, was too patent to be disregarded'¶. That is why Lawrence did neither agree with Colvin to leave Ajmer nor with Showers to attack the Neemuch mutineers‡.

On the 10th of August the Hindustani portion of the 12th Bombay Native Infantry which had been called to Nasirabad from Deesa revolted. The revolt was, however, suppressed by disarming most of the regiment and making an example of the ringleaders‡. On the 12th August Neemuch was again a scene of disturbance which could be suppressed with a very great difficulty by the aid of the men of the 83rd Regiment\$. On August 21, a portion of the Jodhpur Legion, posted at Anadra stole up the hill from Anadra, and 'joining their brethren on the top at Mount Abu crept to the barracks where British soldiers and officers were residing'. After a tough fight they could be driven down but by this time the whole Legion at Erinpura was in open mutiny¶. The station was plundered and burnt and the mutineers marched first towards Ajmer but at Pali they diverged from the Ajmer Road, entered the service of the Thakur of Auwa who took this opportunity to rise up in arms against the British§. The Revolt of Auwa marks the climax of anti-British

¶ Kaye, A History of the Sepoy War in India, Vol. III, page 351.

‡ Showers, A Missing Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, page 44; Trevor, A Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, page 8.

‡ Holmes, History of the Indian Mutiny, page 395; Trevor, A Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, page 9.

\$ Showers, A Missing Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, page 84; Trevor, A Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, page 9.

¶ Trevor, A Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, pages 9 and 10; Holmes, History of the Indian Mutiny, page 396.

§ Ibid.

ferment in Rajasthan. At this critical moment there arose another trouble which resulted in Showers' campaign to Nimbahera. The proclamation, issued by Shahzada Firozshah from Mandsore to the Chiefs of Rajputana, created a stir and it was rumoured that the declared object of the Mandsore Shahzada was to drive the European troops from Neemuch||. Ghous Mahomed Khan, the Nawab of Jowrah, approached Showers and requested him to make necessary preparations for the defence†.

Showers thought that at such a critical juncture, Nimbahera should not be allowed to remain in hostile and doubtful hands. It was situated within sixteen miles of Neemuch and commanded the road with British supports at Nasirabad. It appeared essential for British safety to occupy Nimbahera so that the rear may be secured and line of communications between Nasirabad and Neemuch should remain open‡.

It was on the 18th of September that Showers marched against Nimbahera and besieged the fort\$. In answer to his summons the headmen appeared and, though he expressed his readiness to surrender the place, he regretted his inability to control his men when he was asked to disarm the garrison¶. The inmates of the fortified Nimbahera fired at intervals throughout the night but next morning, when the troops of Showers, attacked and entered the city, they found it evacuated\*. The Bukshee had escaped to Mandsore and joined the rebels there§. Then began the British

|| Showers, A Missing Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, pages 99 to 112.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

\$ Ibid.

¶ Ibid.

\* Ibid.

§ Ibid.

retribution. 'The Head Putel was executed at a public parade of troops by being blown from a gun'†.

This action of Showers with regard to Nimbahera was considered even by his superiors as unwarranted and, though he himself attached a very great significance to it, it was, in a sense, an act of undesirable high-handedness. It might have saved the native troops, secured British communications and restored British prestige, which probably had suffered immensely at Neemuch and Auwa, but, at the same time, it exposed the revengeful attitude of the British.

When the British pockets in Rajputana had been struggling hard against the mutinous soldiery at several places, Auwa rose up in arms against the British. The chiefs of Mewar and Marwar had been conspiring since long and the bubble burst out in the month of September. The revolts, engineered by the mutinous soldiery, at Nasirabad, Neemuch and Erinpura, were the manifestations of the anti-British ferment prevailing amidst the native troops of the Company, while the revolt at Auwa was an uprising of the people belonging to Rajasthan and as such needs an elaborate analysis.

† Showers, *A Missing Chapter of the Indian Mutiny*, pages 99 to 112.



## CHAPTER THREE

### AUWA UP IN ARMS

(Revolt by the Auwa Thakur and his associates)

Malleson says that 'the Thakur of Auwa had no grievance against the English but only against his liege-lord, the Raja¶; but, in the light of recent researches, his contention seems to be unjustified. A letter, written by Rawat Ranjit Singh of Deo Garh to Mehta Sher Singh on the 13th Dark-half of Kartik, V. S. 1914‡, reveals that one Samrath Singh had been making strenuous efforts to unify the recusant Chiefs of Mewar and Marwar with a view to set up a solid front against the British. The intercepted correspondence§, which had been going on at that time between the Jagirdars of Mewar and Marwar, clearly corroborates the views of Rawat Ranjit Singh. The proclamation||, issued by the mutineers from Deesa (and addressed to the people of Marwar) on the 13th day of September, 1857, shows that the sirdars of Mewar and Marwar had been on their side. Captain Showers also felt that there were powerful elements, who were inclined to combine against the British both in Marwar and Mewar§. Even at an earlier date Sir Henry Lawrence, too, had recommended to

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¶ Malleson, *The Indian Mutiny of 1857*, page 265.

‡ Letter of Rawat Ranjit Singh of Deo Garh to Mehta Sher Singh, the ex-Minister of Mewar, dated the 13th Dark-half of Kartik V.S. 1914 (Appendix).

§ Enclosures to Showers' Secret Report No. 90, dated 25th March; Residency Records, National Archives, New Delhi.

|| File No. 1—Mutiny Vol. IV, 1857, Residency Records, National Archives, New Delhi.

§ Showers, *A Missing Chapter of the Indian Mutiny*, pages 108-109.

the Government of India that the chiefs of Saloomber and Bheender should be ejected and deposed from their chiefships by the march into Mewar of two strong columns\*.

The Thakur of Auwa had a specific grievance against the foreigners because Sir Henry Lawrence had directed his Political Agents to abolish an old custom according to which no subject of an estate could leave his birth place and settle in another without the permission of its master and as such two tradesmen, who were heavily in debt, left Auwa and Kushal Singh's demand for their return was ineffective†. The desire of Maharana Swaroop Singh of Mewar to commute the service of their retainers into money payments with the assistance of the British provided a legitimate cause of grievance to the Jagirdars of Mewar because it was an innovation on feudal usage affecting their dignity‡. Keshari Singh, the Rawat of Saloomber, objected seriously when the Maharana proposed to depute the highest chief at his court to proceed to Saloomber to perform the ceremony of girding on the Sword at the time of his succession§. According to the recognised privileges of the feudal tenure this ceremony was to be performed by the heir-apparent to the Udaipur State. 'This grievance of Keshari Singh shared in common with his compeers: consequently constituted a source of danger to the public peace in Mewar'¶.

The anti-British ferment in Rajasthan had been so forcefully shaped that the Jagirdars of Mewar did not approve of the agreement signed by the Maharana with the

\* Showers, A Missing Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, pages 108-109.

† Munshi Jwala Sahai, Loyal Rajputana, page 280.

‡ Showers, A Missing Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, page 50.

§ Showers, A Missing Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, pages 50-51.

¶ Ibid.

British†. Chohan Surajmal of Mundatee revolted as a protest against the abolition of the Sati system\$. Economic misery, which the British rule brought in its wake, led to poverty and unemployment||. Some of the bandit chiefs could gain unheard of popularity simply because they plundered British Treasuries and distributed their booty

† Bardic Poem by Ragho Das eulogising the anti-British activities of Rawat Keshari Singh of Saloomber.

जोर दीधौ किरंगी लिखायो कौल नामौ जटै,  
 आप-रंगी चूँडा तैं मेवाड़ राखी ओट ॥  
 भमै तोपां जिसूँ अहिराट रा सिनांण धूजै,  
 रोक जगां ले खोहो ओषाट रा रक्त ।  
 थें मुदेत थाट रा फड़ामा भुजां आभ थांमै,  
 लाट रा लिखाया मैद पाट रा लिखत ॥

\$ Chohan Surajmal of Mundatee ( a village in Idar) revolted against the British as a protest against the abolition of Sati. According to the popular version, Surajmal fought against the British bravely and the following couplets stand as a testimony thereof :—

गोरां कीना गार, राजा पतसा रैण ने,  
 माथै गोरां मार, शिवरो कांकण सूजडो ।  
 सूजा सैंभरियाइ, परत्रिय नह लागो पलो,  
 नम-नम नीसरियाइ, सह गोरा हिक साथ ॥

(रायसिंह)

॥ 'मिनखां निठगी मौँठ बाजरी, घोड़ां निठग्यो घास'

A line from a popular song concerning the popular bandits Doongji and Jawaharji.

among the poor§. The public opinion was so vehemently anti-British that the ruling chiefs of Jodhpur and Bikaner were forced to give shelter to those bandits who had been declared outlaws by the British. Even the explosion of an immense subterranean store magazine of powder at Jodhpur (responsible for the blowing up of the fort wall and hurling through the air large pieces of rock to a distance of two miles and thus bringing death and destruction to as many as 200 persons) was attributed by the people to the anger of God to visit the head of the impious sovereign who remained true and faithful to the treaties made with the unbelievers (the English)||. The Jodhpur Legion marched through the streets of Jodhpur calling upon the citizens to rise in rebellion against their ruler as the British Government was no more\*. The popular resentment against the British was so great that Maharaja Takhat Singh, who was a non-marwari descendant from a collateral branch of a

§'हाथ जोड़ कहै अंगरेज री कामणी लूट मत भंवर लाडा'

A line from a Bardic poem regarding Doongji reveals the ferocity with which he plundered British Cantonments and treasuries, as for his popularity among the proletariat and charitable disposition the following lines from a popular song will suffice :—

सात सवारों नीसरया, बै हुया कतारां लार,  
चलती बोरी काट दी, बां मूंया दिया खिंदाय ।

चुग चुग हारया बालदी, चुग-चुग लूकया गदाल,  
चुग चुग दुनियां धापगी, बा जै बोलंती जाय ॥

पोकर जी कै घाट पर बां जाग्रम दर्ई बिल्लाय,  
गरीब गुरबां, बामणां नै हेलो दियो मराय ।  
रुपियो-रुपियो दियो बामणां मोरां चारण भाट ॥

§ Munshi Jwala Sahai, Loyal Rajputana, page 279.

\*Munshi Jwala Sahai, Loyal Rajputana, page 276.

family that had long ago settled in Gujrat and was thrust upon the people of Jodhpur by the British, was being looked upon by most of the Thakurs as a foreigner†. He could be maintained upon the throne only with the support of the paramount power. 'Under him the affairs of Marwar fell into confusion and from the time of his accession to power, he never relaxed in his endeavours to confiscate the Jagirs, granted to his chiefs‡. The British became extremely unpopular because they were maintaining much against the wishes of the people such a useless prince on the throne. Maharaja Takhat Singh, too, was fully conscious of this anti-British ferment of the people. That is why whatever help, he gave to the British, was given secretly§. Even at the time of Mason's death, he did not suspend the beating of the drums§. He had so strong a presentiment of some great disaster that he dissuaded Captain Mason from proceeding to Auwa||. Even his own troops fought in a half-hearted manner against the mutineers and as such General Lawrence upbraided him for being lukewarm in his alliance and taunted his troops 'for having danced attendance like orderlies upon the rebels'§. Jodhpur State troops indulged in ugly demonstrations at Ajmer and even threw stones at a monument erected in memory of a former Governor-General's Agent\*. Even when the Jodhpur troops under Anar Singh were asked to march against Auwa, they proceeded, at first, in a half-hearted manner; and made a dash only after Lawrence wrote

† Munshi Jwala Sahai, Loyal Rajputana, page 270.

‡ Rajputana Gazetteer, Vol. III-A, page 73; Vir Vinod, Vol. II, page 878.

§ Dastari Records, Jodhpur, Bahi No. 18, page 372.

§ Dastari Records, Jodhpur, Bahi No. 18, page 387.

|| Munshi Jwala Sahai, Loyal Rajputana, page 285.

§ Munshi Jwala Sahai, Loyal Rajputana, page 283.

\* Trevor, A Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, page 6.

a bitter letter accusing them of cowardice¶. After the death of Anar Singh the Jodhpur troops refused to proceed further and Lieutenant Heathcote, after using every effort to induce the men to stand, was compelled to mount his horse and to gallop off from the field‡. The general dissatisfaction against the British seems to have penetrated even the walls of the palace and the terminology, used by the writer of Dastari Bahies at Jodhpur, is indicative of his contemptuous attitude towards the British||. At several places he has recorded that the British were the 'chakars' of the Maharaja and that they used to occupy a lower seat while talking to him§.

The revolt of Auwa was an outcome of general dissatisfaction against the British. It was not an isolated incident, caused by the arrival of the mutineers from Erinpura. It was joined by the chiefs of Gular, Alaniyavas, Asop etc. and their contingents§. These chiefs were so strong in their dislike of the British that they were not satisfied with the trouble, they created at Auwa, but also proceeded up to Narnol with the mutineers. They were even prepared to go to Delhi and wait upon Bahadur Shah\*. The intercepted correspondence†, conducted between the chiefs of Marwar and the Rawat of Saloomber, reveals that as many as seven representative chiefs of Marwar and Mewar, headed by Sheonath Singh of Asop, actually left

¶ Munshi, Jwala Sahai, Loyal Rajputana, page 283.

‡ Munshi Jwala Sahai, Loyal Rajputana, page 264.

|| Dastari Records, Jodhpur, Bahi No. 18 and 21.

§ Dastari Records, Jodhpur, Bahi No. 21 and 18.

§ Dastari Records, Jodhpur, Bahi No. 18.

\* Intercepted correspondence, enclosures to Showers' letter No. 90, dated 25-3-58; and letters found in the Auwa Fort (submitted by Captain Brooke *vide* his letter No. 45, dated 26th Nov., 1858); Residency Records, National Archives, New Delhi.

† Intercepted correspondence, submitted by Captain Showers *vide* his letter No. 90, dated 25-3-58, National Archives, New Delhi.

Marwar for Delhi†. A letter from Jodh Singh of Kotharia, dated August, 1858, shows that the Auwa chief was advised by him to get some mutineer sepoys and proceed to Kotharia‖. An anonymous letter from Kotharia to Prithvi Singh, brother of the Auwa chief, further indicates that the mutineers were joined by some 5 or 7 thousand freshmen and as such he had been advised to proceed with 400 or 500 persons§. Auwa chief's letter of 10th October, 1857 to the Rawat of Saloomber clearly shows that he was in an open league with the mutineers and had sent all influential people with his forces\*. A letter from Samrath Singh, dated October, 1857, proves that the Marwar Thakurs were proceeding to Delhi with a view to represent their case to Bahadur Shah and that they intended to bring a force of 25000 men from Delhi and attack Ajmer§. Another letter from Samrath Singh, Madho Singh and Radha Krishan to Rawat Keshari Singh stands as a testimony to the fact that all these chiefs, who had taken part in the Mutiny at Auwa were preparing for a general upheaval which was to cover areas even beyond Marwar. It relates how the Sirdars of Marwar left the land of their birth with a large force and proceeded towards Delhi and how they had decided to attack Ajmer¶.

† Intercepted correspondence, enclosed with Showers' letter No. 90, dated 25-3-58.

‖ Letters (found at Auwa Fort) submitted by Brooke *vide* his letter No. 45, dated 26th Nov., 1858; Residency Records, National Archives, New Delhi.

§ Ibid.

\* Ibid.

§ Intercepted correspondence, submitted by Showers *vide* his letter No. 90, dated 25th March, 1858.

¶ Ibid.

The chief of Auwa was, therefore, not the only man who was interested in the Mutiny and resistance against the British but, as a matter of fact, was being backed by a solid confederacy of Marwar chiefs. These chiefs of Marwar were being helped and encouraged by the Rawat of Saloomber who was leading the nobles of Mewar against the British. Their projects and efforts received the approval and active cooperation of the people, who lived around them. That is why they could march towards Delhi at the head of a huge congregation. Their aim was to uproot the British and it was in this connection that they thought of marching towards Delhi first and then attacking Ajmer.

A letter† from Samrath Singh, Madho Singh and Radha Krishan to the Rawat of Saloomber further indicates that the followers of the Auwa chief were prepared to go to Delhi even without the co-operation and assistance of the Mutineers from Erinpura. This establishes beyond any doubt that the revolt, which took place at Auwa, was not an outcome either of sheer coincidence or of the arrival of the mutineers from Erinpura. Even if the Thakur of Auwa had not been prepared to strike, his followers might have struck the blow because according to Pandit Visheshwar Nath Reu the Auwa chief, at first, was very reluctant to make a common cause with the mutineers but was actually forced to do so at the instance of his associates, headed by Thakur Bishan Singh of Gular‡. The associates of the Auwa chief were, thus, stronger and more bitter in their condemnation of the British. Trevor's view|| that the mutiny at Auwa was brought about by Thakur Kushal Singh, who, being disaffected towards his own chief, took

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† Intercepted correspondence, submitted by Captain Showers *vide* his letter No. 90, dated 25th March, 1858; Residency Records, National Archives, New Delhi.

‡ Reu, Marwar Ka Itihas, Vol. II, page 450.

|| Trevor, A Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, page 11.



this opportunity, with the help of the mutineers of Erinpura, of openly rebelling, needs, therefore, proper modification in view of the above. Had the Auwa affair been an outcome of the anti-British activities of Thakur Kushal Singh alone, it would have come to an end with his departure from Auwa. But, as the Dastari Records reveal, the Jodhpur troops were busy fighting against the people of Auwa as late as the 12th Bright-half of Kartik V.S. 1918||. Even when the A.G.G. invaded and besieged Auwa, the first fire came from the village§. The villagers, too, were, thus, with their chieftain and there seems to have prevailed against the British something of a widespread discontent.

The mutiny at Auwa was, therefore, an outcome of widespread dissatisfaction against the British. That is why the fires of the revolt kept burning even after the mutinous soldiery of the Jodhpur Legion had left Auwa and Thakur Kushal Singh had escaped. That is why the Jodhpur Durbar was so perturbed and his own troops were fighting against the mutineers in a half-hearted manner. Thakur Kushal Singh, who at the initial stage was half inclined to adopt a reconciliatory attitude and had even approached Mason in this connection§, was actually forced to revolt as a result of pressure from all sides and thus allow his associates to have their way. The wave of dissatisfaction was not so much against the Maharaja of Jodhpur as it was against the British because, while the head of Captain Mason was hung at the gate of the Auwa fort, that of Anar Singh was not¶. The bardic poems and popular folklore further reveal that the victory, won by the Auwa

|| Dastari Records, Jodhpur, Bahi No. 21, page 401.

§ Dastari Records, Jodhpur, Bahi No. 18, page 409.

§ Munshi Jwala Sahai, *Loyal Rajputana*, pages 281-82; Residency File No. 1, Mutiny Vol. III, 1857.

¶ Munshi Jwala Sahai, *Loyal Rajputana*, page 285; Showers, *A Missing Chapter of the Indian Mutiny*, page 108,

people, was to be celebrated as a great success of Indian arms against the British and not against the Maharaja. The popular folklore, sung on the occasion of the Holi festival, clearly indicates that it was a war between the Goras (British) and the Kalas (Indians)†.

An excellent account of the causes and the course of the Auwa Thakur's revolt is recorded in the report of Captain Nixon, Political Agent, Jodhpur to Major Eden, Officiating A.G.G. at Mount Abu, vide his letter No. 98, dated the 14th December, 1859‡. According to him Thakur Kushal Singh of Auwa belonged to one of the most turbulent clans of Jodhpur||. He had displeased the Maharaja of Jodhpur by interfering arbitrarily in the succession case of Beethora and had infuriated him by his indiscipline§. But meanwhile the Mutiny had broken out and General Lawrence called out the Jodhpur regiments for the protection of the arsenal and later on sent them to pursue the mutineers which they did up to Jaipur\$. But in August, 1858, the Jodhpur Legion mutinied at Erinpura, and were passing through the Jodhpur territory, when the Thakur of Auwa offered them service, which they first refused, but later accepted when the conditions of service were made more lucrative¶. Captain Nixon emphasised the point in his report and said that the Auwa Thakur took part in the rebellion and he enticed them into his service\*.

† 'Gora' and 'Kala' occur in 'ब्राह्मिया वाली गोचर' song.

‡ File No. 84, Jodhpur Old, Vol. I & II, Residency Records, National Archives, New Delhi.

|| Ibid.

§ Ibid.

\$ Ibid

¶ Ibid.

\* Ibid.

Captain Nixon further states that a force of the Jodhpur Durbar was sent against him but was defeated. Then, according to Nixon, General Lawrence himself went, and though he was victorious, yet his gains were not substantial as he could not reduce Auwa without heavy guns†. Meanwhile Captain Mason, Political Agent of Jodhpur, was treacherously slain probably by the Thakur of Auwa and this inflamed the British sentiments all the more who were already displeased with him because he had joined hands with the mutineers||. Captain Nixon also mentions that three other Thakurs, viz., Sheonath Singh of Asop, Bishan Singh of Gular and Ajit Singh of Alaniyavas, who had previously opposed the Jodhpur Raj, were also leagued with Kushal Singh\$. According to Captain Nixon, Sheonath Singh was besieged in the village of Burloo and was forced to surrender§. He was pardoned and kept in Jodhpur. The other two Thakurs were ousted from their Jagirs and they settled in the Sikar area¶. Nixon also states that in January 1858, a force under Brigadier Holmes invested Auwa, but under the cover of a heavy rain and storm the Thakur escaped and reached Sikar and continued to plunder the Marwar territory and to assist the Thakur of Asop‡.

The details, given by Captain Nixon, can be supplemented by the information gathered from the Hakikats of the Dastari Records at Jodhpur. Bahi No. 13 clearly reveals how the British victory in the Cremian war created a stir in Jodhpur\* and how the anti-British activities of the Jagirdars

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† File No. 84, Jodhpur Old, Vol. I & II, Residency Records, National Archives, New Delhi.

|| Ibid.

\$ Ibid.

§ Ibid.

¶ Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

\* Dastari Records, Jodhpur, Bahi No. 18, page 276.

of Udaipur forced the British Government to seek help from the Jodhpur Durbar||. The Hakikats give a graphic description of the outbreak of the mutiny in India and strongly assert that the entire population of Delhi took part in it\$. The entire population of Delhi, having revolted, put to sword the Englishmen, who lived there and established their authority§. So perturbed was the British Political Agent at Jodhpur that he approached Maharaja Takhat Singh for help who sent Singhvi Kushal Raj, Ratan Raj, Shiv Raj etc. to Alaniyavas from where they proceeded to Nava Nagar, Ajmer and under instructions from the British Officers chased the mutineers who had plundered the cantonments of Nasirabad and Neemuch¶. But since the mutineers had gone far beyond their reach, they returned and awaited further instructions‡. The condition of the country was so disturbed that special guard had to be deputed for the party which left for Ajmer with money sent for the assistance of the British and this party had to leave Jodhpur at night so that people may not come to know of it†. The dissatisfaction, prevailing among the people, was further strengthened by the visit of Khaki Sadhus who went from place to place and were invited even in the palace\*.

The Hakikats give a detailed description of the outbreak of the mutiny at Deesa and Erinpura cantonments, which had been plundered and set on fire\*\*. The mutineers, having imprisoned two or three European ladies proceeded

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|| Dastari Records, Jodhpur, Bahi No. 18, page 278.

§ Dastari Records, Jodhpur, Bahi No. 18, page 366.

§ Ibid.

¶ Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

† Dastari Records, Jodhpur, Bahi No. 18, page 372.

\* Dastari Records, Jodhpur, Bahi No. 18 page No. 384.

\*\* Ibid.

towards Pali but, since the Jodhpur troops under Anar Singh, Rao Raj Mal, Mehta Chhatarmal and Najar Mustak had already been posted at Pali, they went to village Karatho and then later on proceeded to Auwa whose chief made a common cause with them. In the engagement that took place, he fired his guns upon the Jodhpur State troops§. The Hakikats also refer to a fairly long interview of the Political Agent with the Maharaja and it seems that they were both very much up-set and the Maharaja feared lest there should be a general upheaval¶. According to the Hakikats the forces of Auwa and Purbia mutineers suddenly attacked the Jodhpur State forces on the day of Ghodvid Chhath early in the morning and in the action that took place Anar Singh and Rajmal fell fighting with their men‡. There were some casualties on the other side also. The Maharaja was shocked to receive the news and ordered for the suspension of the Nobat. The Jodhpur troops came back from Auwa‡.

According to the Hakikats, Captain Mason, the Political Agent of Jodhpur, galloped to Sojat and Pali to see the A.G.G. who had come there from Ajmer and General

§ Dastari Records, Jodhpur, Bahi No. 18, page 384.

¶ Dastari Records, Bahi No. 18, page 384; Munshi Jwala Sahai has made a clear cut mention in his Loyal Rajputana (page 285) that the Maharaja even dissuaded Mr. Mason not to leave Jodhpur because he had a presentiment that some disaster would ensue, if the Political Agent left the Capital. The Maharaja did not know as to whom to trust. He found his position in Jodhpur as precarious as that of the Europeans.

‡ Dastari Records, Jodhpur, Bahi No. 18, page 384; Munshi Jwala Sahai, however, states in his Loyal Rajputana (pages 263-64) that the Jodhpur troops were taking part in a half-hearted manner; that Lawrence reprimanded the Maharaja for his lukewarmness and taunted the army for its cowardice and after the death of Anar Singh, the Jodhpur troops refused to fight and Lieutenant Heathcote was, in utter helplessness, compelled to mount his horse and gallop; the Hakikat Bahi, being a Jodhpur Government Record, most probably avoided the mention of these strictures. It only mentions that the Jodhpur troops came back from Auwa.

† Ibid.

Lawrence himself hastened from Ajmer to take field against the Thakur of Auwa in person with a force consisting of native and foreign battalions||. Captain Mason also reached the spot and Singhvi Kushal Raj and Mehta Chhatar Mal joined the British troops. In the action that took place on the day of Amavasya, Captain Mason sold his life dearly\$. The rebels after their victory over the enemy's troops had fallen back on Auwa. The Maharaja was very sad to learn of Mr. Mason's death and, though he conveyed his condolence to Mrs. Mason, the beating of the drums was not suspended§.

The Hakikats, then, refer to the reoccupation of Delhi and the massacre and arrest of the mutineers by the British at Delhi¶. The Jagir of Auwa was confiscated and

|| Dastari Records, Jodhpur, Bahi No. 18, page 387; Captain Showers in his Missing Chapter of the Indian Mutiny (page 107) mentions that a powerful British Column including European Infantry and Artillery under the personal command of Lawrence left for Auwa.

§ Dastari Records, Jodhpur, Bahi No. 18, page No. 387; Trevor (A Chapter on the Indian Mutiny, page 11) says that Mason hastening to join Lawrence's camp unfortunately mistook the bugles of the mutinous Jodhpur Legion for his own, the calls being the same and went up to a party of the enemy by whom he was immediately killed. Munshi Jwala Sahai (Loyal Rajputana page 285) states that, while trying to find General Lawrence, Mason was laid prostrate with a bullet shot from behind and was immediately cut with sword. Captain Showers (A Missing Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, pages 107-108) states that a powerful British column, including European Infantry and Artillery, under the personal guidance of, at once the highest Military and political authority in Rajputana. Brigadier General Lawrence being repulsed in an attack on a feudal chief and forced to retire altogether from the field was at such a crisis sufficiently serious. The disaster was aggravated by the loss of the Political Agent who, having ordered to meet General Lawrence before Auwa on a fixed day, found on arriving there that the force, he expected to find, had retreated, when he fell into the hands of the rebels, was killed, his head cut off and placed over the gateway of the fort. According to the narrative, sent to me by Thakur Nahar Singh of Auwa, Mason was killed in the engagement.

§ Dastari Records, Jodhpur, Bahi No. 18 (387) Nobat was suspended at the time of Anar Singh's death; the Maharaja was probably afraid of public opinion and as such he did not suspend it at the time of Mason's death.

¶ Dastari Records, Jodhpur, Bahi No. 18, page 389.

handed over to Shiv Chand†. The confiscation order was issued so late probably because the Maharaja did not want to infuriate the public by taking action against the Thakur of Auwa but now, when the occupation of Delhi by the British convinced him of the stability of their rule, he took action against the Auwa Chief, though the confiscation remained a dead letter because Auwa could not be conquered for a long time.

The Hakikats further add that soon after the retreat of the British Forces, the mutineers came out of their defence of Auwa and marched onward to Pali. They were joined by the Jagirdars of Gular and Alaniyavas. The Maharaja of Jodhpur also sent his troops under Singhvi Kushal Raj and Mehta Chhatar Mal to chase them. The mutineers encamped at Narnol and the Maharaja's troops halted at Gareki. There is also a description of the famous battle of Narnol which took place between the British troops under Gerard on the day of Amavasya. The mutineers were defeated, put to death and they who survived fled away†.

† Dastari Records, Bahi No. 18, page 389.

† Dastari Records, Jodhpur, Bahi No. 18, page 403; Munshi Jwala Sahai, however, refers to a quarrel between the Thakur of Auwa and the mutineers. He further adds that instead of coming to blows, they sensibly agreed to separate (Loyal Rajputana, page 286) but this statement does not stand to mean that the Auwa Thakur did not co-operate with them. The intercepted correspondence reveals that he had sent along with them his most influential men and they were all going to Delhi to submit their petition to Bahadur Shah and then later on attack Ajmer. The report by Nixon (file No. 84-Jodhpur old, Vol. I and II, Residency Records, National Archives, New Delhi) shows that Shiv Nath Singh of Asop also accompanied them. T. Rice Holmes has given a beautiful description of the battle of Narnol on pages 396 and 397 of his book—A History of Indian Mutiny. The description shows that the mutineers fought very gallantly. Even after they had been dislodged they took courage again and threw the British troops into confusion but the Grides and Fusiliers came to the rescue, expelled the mutineers from some buildings which they still held, and won that battle (Black wood,

[To be continued on page No. 45.]

The Hakikats, then, refer to General Lawrence's famous expedition against the Auwa Chief. They establish that the Auwa Chief had fought against the forces of the Jodhpur Durbar, that he was responsible for the death of Mason, that he gave shelter to the mutineers and that he was actively espousing their cause||. A military expedition had, therefore, to be taken against him. The British troops besieged the Auwa fort. The villagers also fought against the British. The first fire came from the village. Kushal Singh escaped unhurt at night and his brother Prithvi Singh and his followers also left the village. The village was occupied by the British\$. It seems that even after the departure of Kushal Singh and the occupation of the fort by the British, the people of Auwa went on fighting because a second expedition, was also undertaken by Colonel Holmes who besieged the fort again and ultimately

pp. 721-24; Parliamentary papers Vol. XLIV 1857-58-part 4 pp. 9-14). The mutineers had committed the initial blunder by evacuating a strong place situated at a distance of 2 miles from Narnol. If they had taken-up their position there, they could not have been dislodged easily. Their leaders, concluding from the non-appearance of the British that they were not coming at all and being too headless to take pains to verify his conjecture abandoned it and hence this tragedy.

|| Dastari Records, Jodhpur, Bahi No. 18, page 409; Trevor (A Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, page 14) also points out that since the Thakur had opposed British troops in the field, and was known to have made overtures to the king at Delhi, so as soon as reinforcements from Bombay reached Rajputana in January it was thought necessary to make an example of him.

\$ Dastari Bahi No. 18, Jodhpur, Dastari Records, page 409; Trevor (A chapter of the Indian Mutiny, page 14) also says that during the night under the cover of a fearful storm and dense darkness the garrison evacuated the place with such secrecy that most of them escaped. A picket of the 1st Bombay cavalry killed 18 and took 9 prisoners. Next morning the cavalry pursued and took one hundred and twenty-four prisoners. The narrative, received from the Auwa Thakur, however, asserts that Kushal Singh left Auwa with a view to gather troops and his brother Prithvi Singh remained in charge of the defence operations. The fort was evacuated as a result of strategem administered by the Jodhpur troops who induced the Kiledar of Auwa to betray the garrison.



re-occupied it§. Even this expedition seems to have been of little weight because in Vaishakh V.S. 1914, another party, consisting of Madho Singh and other nobles of note had to be sent¶. They failed to suppress the revolt and reinforcements were sent under Vijaya Mal†. Even then Jodhpur troops failed to crush the Thakur completely who fled away towards Godwad and in Bhadava V.S. 1915, another force was despatched under Jaswant Singh to crush the Auwa Chief‡. The Hakikats also refer to the confiscation of the Jagirs of the Thakurs of Asop, Gular etc. and the military action taken against them||. But the policy of repression failed to crush the people of Auwa completely who, according to the Hakikats, went on creating trouble even up to V.S. 1918.

According to the report, submitted by Nixon, Thakur Kushal Singh continued to plunder the Marwar territory but ultimately he settled quietly in Kotharia, a village in Mewar. He secured the British help in his recall and surrendered himself to the British at Neemuch on the 8th August, 1860. At the trial, which opened at Ajmer, quite a large number of witnesses were examined and the Thakur was ultimately acquitted§.

The circumstances attending the defection of the Auwa Thakur created so great an unfavourable impression upon the paramount power that the retribution came with full force. The acts of rebellion, of which Kushal Singh and his associates had been guilty, were considered by the

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§ Dastari Records, Jodhpur, Bahi No. 18, page 411.

¶ Dastari Records, Jodhpur, Bahi No. 18, page 424.

† Ibid.

‡ Dastari Records, Jodhpur, Bahi No. 18, page 444.

|| Dastari Records, Jodhpur, Bahi No. 18.

§ File No. 84, Jodhpur I and II, Residency Records, National Archives, New Delhi.

paramount power of so grievous a nature that the sense which was entertained of these acts was never to be forgotten§. According to Morrison they had evinced a great hostility to the British Government by uniting with their mutinous troops and massacring Captain Monck Manson and had also embarrassed the Maharaja of Jodhpur to such a degree as to render him incapable of carrying out his wish and to exhibit his own devotion to the British Government and disturb the peace of the country at a time when by reason of the sudden defections of its troops, the British Government was unable to maintain the integrity of its power in its own dominions‡. In the words of Captain Showers, 'a powerful column, including European Infantry and Artillery, under the personal command, as well as political guidance, of at once the highest military and political authority in Rajputana, Brigadier General Lawrence, being repulsed in an attack on a feudal Chief of one of the states, and forced to retire altogether from the field, was at such a crisis sufficiently serious'¶. The disaster, according to Showers, was further aggravated by the loss of the Political Agent of the district who, having ordered to meet General Lawrence before Auwa on a fixed day, found on arriving there that the force he expected to find had retreated, when he fell into the hands of the rebels, was killed, his head cut off and placed over the gateway of the fort\*. 'A reverse so aggravated was

§ Foreign Secret Proceedings, 28th May, 1858, No. 382; page No. 440; enclosure to Lawrence's letter No. 253 of 1858, dated 26th Feb., 1858 to Secretary to the Government of India; enclosure No. 1 to a letter No. 8/D/14th Feb., 1858 from Political Agent to the Maharaja of Jodhpur, National Archives, New Delhi.

‡ Foreign Secret Proceedings No. 382 of 28th May, 1858; Major Morrison's letter to the Jodhpur Durbar No. 1 of 8/D/14-2-58; National Archives, New Delhi.

¶ Captain Showers, A Missing Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, pages 107-108.

\* Captain Showers, A Missing Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, pages 107-108.

obviously calculated, in an inflammable state of the country arising from the general rebellion, to excite a combination of all the disaffected elements in Rajputana, and thus spread a general conflagration'\*. Captain Showers further adds that 'from the closeness of the bond subsisting between the other chiefs in question on both sides of the border, and the promptings of clanship and identity of class interests, the temporary success in rebellion of the Auwa Thakur might have emboldened the recusant Mewar Chiefs to take advantage of the general insurrection in India and make a common cause with him and his confederates'†. According to him 'they were urgently invited to do so, and with assurances that the aid of the King of Delhi had been solicited, conclusive proof (of which) was afforded by the intercepted letters from the Auwa Chief to Saloomber, despatched immediately on his repulsing General Lawrence's attack'‡. Naturally, therefore, the Paramount Power ordered the Jodhpur Durbar to confiscate the Jagirs of the Thikana and they were never to be restored to the same family or clan. The destruction of Auwa was to be thoroughly accomplished so that the established authority may be properly recognised. The chief passes leading into Mewar or Merwara were to be held by the Jodhpur troops in order that none of the fugitives or disaffected people should be able to enter Mewar. The destruction of the Thakur's dwelling house at Auwa along with the masonry bastions and gateways of his town was to be effected. The masonry wall along with the earthen bastions, out works and embankments had to be completely demolished. The

\* Captain Showers, A Missing Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, pages 107-108.

‡ Ibid.

† Showers, A Missing Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, pages 107-108.

force to be maintained in the area to over-awe any opposition was to be sufficient||.

The foregoing account of the Auwa revolt, prepared on the basis of the official records of the Government of India and those of the Jodhpur State slightly differs from the popular version prevailing in Marwar and also from the details, supplied to me by the present Thakur of Auwa. The popular version is of an extremely exaggerated nature and as such cannot form part of sober history. Mostly being an outcome of the emotional outburst, inspired by the anti-British ferment of the people who lived around Auwa, it can at best be construed to mean an indication of the contingent frustration, caused by the ultimate defeat and destruction of the anti-British warriors who tried, in their own way, to hold their own against the paramount power. It provides a conclusive evidence, not so much of either the personal bravery of the chieftains who resisted the British or the revolutionary inclinations of those who fought, but of the deeprooted contempt in which the British were being held at that time by the millions at large who lived around Auwa. The details, supplied by the Auwa Thakur, despite their emotional touch, are to some extent reliable and gaps, left behind by the official version, can be filled up with their help. After making a proper allowance for the subjectivity and sentimentalism of the narrative, received from the Auwa Thakur, I am inclined to believe that the following details are in a way 'worthy of being included in this document.

The regiment of the mutineers, who came to Auwa from Erinpura and Deesa cantonments under the leadership of Risaldar Abdul Ali, Dafedar Moti Khan, Bardi Major

|| Foreign Secret Proceedings No. 382; Major Morrison's letter to the Jodhpur Durbar, Letter No, 8/D/14th Feb., 1858, National Archives, New Delhi.

**Makhadum Baksh**, Subedar Shital Prasad and Tilak Ram consisted of 600 cavaliers and 1400 infantry men. They had been joined at Auwa by the jagirdars of Asop, Alaniyavas, Banjawas, Lambiya, Banta, Bhivalia, Ruddawas, Roop Nagar, Saloomber, Lasani etc., and the entire army which fought against the British in actual engagements was more than 5000 troops. Thus more than 3000 persons, who joined the mutineers of Deesa and Erinpura at Auwa, were Rajasthanis and belonged to Marwar and Mewar. The first engagement, which took place at Beethora between the mutineers and the troops of the Jodhpur Durbar, under Anar Singh and Raj Mal, on the 8th September, 1857 lasted for 2 days and ended in a complete victory for the mutineers. The second engagement, which took place at Chelawas near Auwa between the British troops under Lawrence aided by the troops of Captain Mason, the Political Agent at Jodhpur, and the mutineers, was so fierce that as many as 2000 soldiers from both the sides lost their life. The British troops were equipped with nine pieces of artillery and the fire from the British guns made the mutineers retreat to Auwa. It was the heroic charge made by the Auwa cavaliers numbering 200 which routed the British artillery men. The death of Mason, according to the popular version, took place in this engagement and not, as narrated by the British historians, through any strategem. The fighting took place for more than a prahar and the mutineers had to divide themselves in three parties. The right wing, consisting of 500 cavaliers, was commanded by Thakur Shiv Nath Singh and Jhujhar Singh and the left wing consisting of 600 cavaliers, was led by the leaders of the Erinpura mutineers. The rear guard, consisting of 800 persons of the Auwa Thakur, was under the charge of Champawat Sagat Singh. These three parties fell upon the British troops and a horrible fight took place. The British army was made to retreat towards Angadosh leaving behind quite a large number of dead and wounded

soldiers. The Auwa chief was not in favour of marching direct towards Delhi because he wanted to proceed to Mewar first and then, with the help of Mewari Jagirdars, he intended to proceed further. His associates, however, were of a different opinion and the mutineers, accompanied by Thakur Shiv Nath Singh of Asop, Bishan Singh of Gular, Ajit Singh of Alaniyavas and 4 others left Auwa for Delhi. This army, moving towards Narnol, consisted of the mutineers from Erinpura and Deesa and the troops of the seven principal jagirdars of Mewar and Marwar.

With a view to suppress the revolt and wreak a vengeance, Holmes invaded Auwa with a huge army consisting of nearly 30,000\* troops on the 20th January, 1858. The regiments from Ajmer, Nasirabad, Neemuch, Mow and Deoli were reinforced by the Jodhpur troops under Joshi Hans Raj. Auwa Chief, though terrified to face so huge an army, made defence preparations and handed over the charge of his troops to his younger brother, Thakur Prithvi Singh of Lambiya who was assisted in his operations by Musahib Khas Sadul Singh and Kiledar Bhan Singh Champawat. The walls of the Auwa fort were equipped with 50 artillery pieces. The Auwa Chief could not put in the field more than 5000 troops. The fighting went on for four days and, while the official version suggests that Thakur Kushal Singh left Auwa under the cloak of fog with a view to save his life, the popular version holds that he had gone to Mewar with a view to gather more troops and the defence operations were conducted in his absence by his brother, Prithvi Singh. The fighting continued for six days, the besieged were reduced to sheer helplessness

\* The number of troops mentioned here is obviously wrong; according to Trevor (page 14) a force of 18 hundred men seven hundred of whom were cavalry with 14 guns and mortars invested Auwa. This, however, excluded the Jodhpur troops.

and through the strategem, organized by the Jodhpur troops, who persuaded the kiledar of Auwa to betray, the fort was vacated\$.

The British troops were not satisfied with the occupation of the fort. They plundered the village mercilessly, brought about a complete annihilation of the fort and the palace. Even temples and their statues were not spared. The statue of Muhakali was brought to Ajmer and it is still in the Ajmer Museum. Some of the artillery pieces and heavy guns, belonging to the Auwa fort, were taken possession of by the Jodhpur Durbar. So fierce was the spirit of vengeance that merciless torture was meted out to the villagers and even trees were cut down.

The Auwa Chief had to struggle hard against his enemies for a period of 12 years. He wandered from place to place and made strenuous efforts to occupy the fort. He invaded Auwa many a time and even tried to contact Tantia Tope who was proceeding towards Kotharia at the head of 30,000 troops. He, however, failed to contact Tantia Tope and in utter helplessness sought shelter at Kotharia, where he lived till he was tried by a military tribunal in 1919 V.S.

Kushal Singh, however, did not sit idle during the period of his exile. He tried many a time to recapture his Thikana but his efforts failed since his other associates too were reduced to a similar fate.

His son, Devi Singh, attacked Auwa with the assistance of the jagirdars of Pokaran, Kuchaman, Neemaj, Raipur, Ras, Khejerla and Chandawal and succeeded on the 7th Dark-half of Margshirsh V.S. 1925 in capturing Auwa.

\$ From no other source this assertion regarding the strategem has been corroborated.

Gradually he brought under his sway the areas of Balotra, Riyan, Saran etc.

*The military tribunal, set up by the British, ordered for the confiscation of 10/16 part of the Auwa Thikana. Balotra, Riyan, Gura Bishnoiyan, Fitkasni, Rajpuria, Jeemda etc. worth an annual rekh of Rs. 24,400/- were confiscated. The Thakur of Lambiya lost Isali, Gura, Mokam Singh and Bhandu. The Thakurs of Banta, Bhivalia, Badsa, Rajoda, Sonei, Kumpavata, Ruddavas, Sapuni, Sovania, Sela and Nainiavas lost half of their Jagirs. The Thakur of Roop Nagar lost 14 villages, that of Asop 2 villages, that of Gular 6 villages and the chief of Banjavas lost 10 and a half villages. The heavy punishment inflicted upon the Auwa Chief, his associates and subjects reveals the serious view, taken by the paramount power. These rebels were pardoned because they could not be crushed and also because they had made it impossible for the Jodhpur ruler to carry on his administration.*

Though defeated, crushed, and completely annihilated, the martyrs, who laid down their lives, did not, however, die in vain. They left behind an impression upon the popular mind which the resounding victories, roaring guns and thundering battalions of the paramount power failed to wipe out. Their struggle against the British was depicted in popular folk-lore as a crusade to have the right type of ruler\*. Popular songs, sung even to this day at the time of the Holi festival, describe at length the fierce engagement which took place under the walls of Auwa eulogising the heroic defence, put up by the people and

\* In a prayer offered to Sharda Bhavani there is a reference to this revolt where the desire to have a DHARMI RAJA has been expressed.



the chieftains of Auwa†. The burden of these songs repeatedly lays stress upon the fact that the firanghies have come to Rajasthan, that they are putting on black and blue caps, that they have settled in the close vicinity of Abu, that the citizens of Rajasthan should make a common cause, that they should maintain their unity and should not allow the British to bring about the ruin of the Auwa Chief. The bardic poems, composed during these days, reveal that the contemporary

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† The following popular song describes the actual engagement between the Auwa Chief and the British :—

वणिया वाली गोचर मांय, कालो लोग पड़ियो ओ,  
राजाजी रै मेलो तो फिरंगी लड़ियो ओ,  
काली टोपी रो ।

हे ओ काली टोपी रो, फिरंगी फैलाव कीधो ओ,  
काली टोपी रो ।

बारली तोपां रा गोला धूङ्गद में लागै ओ,  
मांयली तोपां रा गोला तंबू तोडै ओ,  
भल्लै आउवो ।

हे ओ भल्लै आउवो, आउवो धरती रो यांनो ओ,  
भल्लै आउवो ।

मांयली तोपां तो छूटै आढावलो धूजै ओ,  
आउवे रा नाथ तो सुगाली पूजै ओ,  
भगड़ो आदरियो ।

हे ओ भगड़ो आदरियो, आउवो भगड़ा ने बांको ओ,  
भगड़ो आदरियो ।

राजाजी रा घोड़लिया कालां रै लारै दीडै ओ,  
आउवे रा घोड़ा तो पछाड़ी तोडै ओ,  
भगड़ो व्हेण दो ।

हे ओ भगड़ो व्हेण दो, भगड़ां में थारी जीत व्हेला ओ  
भगड़ो व्हेण दो ।

poets saw in Thakur Kushal Singh a brave patriot who possessed the invincible audacity of resisting the foreign rule and waging incessant warfare against the British for a period of 12 years. They go to depict Auwa as the pillar of earth paying a glowing tribute to the stubbornness, love for freedom and the fighting potentiality of its citizens†.

† Regarding the Auwa Mutiny quite a large number of bardic poems have been composed. The most important among them are the three couplets of Girvardan wherein he says—

बरती चवदह बरस पड़े इल बेघ अपारां,  
 बिकट लोग बदलियो, सोच लागो उर सारां ।  
 कानी कानी कलह, दाय कम्पनी उर .दीघौ,  
 खोज खजानो खास, लूट अरणपुर लीघौ ।  
 बजराग भाट लागा बहै, धके दिली दस घाउवे,  
 महाराज खीज लेवा मदत, आयर रुपिया आउवे ।  
 कालां बांधी कमर, कमर बांधी खुसियालै,  
 विसना सिवसा वले, भडां ज्यां जोगण भालै ।  
 लाग सिंधवां ललक, खलक हक बक धूजै खित,  
 करण टूक केवियां, रूक रण रहरू करत ।  
 बजराग भाट बैडा बधै, घाट चमू दिस घेरणां,  
 कवादी लोक लोह लाट कर, फजर फाटकां फेरणां ॥  
 सुण चापै रच सला, मित्र परधानां मेले,  
 खामन्द बगसो खून, बंधो मत दुसहां बेले ।  
 सह मंत्री मिल सला, थाप जुध करण यटाई,  
 होणहार ज्यूं होय, मिटै किण भांत मिटाई ।  
 भरोसे खुसाल सक्ति भिडण, संभियो सगलां साथ रे,  
 आजाद हिंद करवा उमंग, निडर आउवा नाथ रै ॥

Similarly Mahakavi Surya Mal Mishran has also paid a glowing tribute to the bravery of the Auwa people—

लोहां करं तो भाटका फणां कंवारी घडारो लाडो,  
 आडो जोधाण सूं खेंचियो वहे अंट ।

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Historical treatment, being objective in its nature and scientific in its interpretation of facts, does not allow a student of history to indulge in an emotional outburst. Emotions and sentiments do play a very important role in the history of a nation, but no history can be subjected to an emotional interpretation of historical data. Despite the praise lavished upon the heroic exploits of these jagirdar rebels of Rajasthan by the bards and the popular muse, history has to evaluate their role in an absolutely objective way and determine the nature and scope of their activities dispassionately. The whole of Rajasthan had been in a ferment of unrest no doubt, but they, who came to the forefront with their anti-British inclinations, had not been actuated by purely patriotic sentiments. Nor did they possess the organizing capacity so essential in case of popular upheavals. Being mostly self-centred and selfish in their aspirations, the jagirdar rebels of Rajasthan failed, despite their personal bravery and sacrificing zeal, to inspire the

जंगी साल हिंदवाण रो आवगो जीनै,

आउवो खायगो फिरंगाण रो अजंट ॥

रीठ तोपां बंदूकां जुझवां नालां पेंड रोपै,

बकै चंडी जय-जय रुद्र-पिया रा बाखाण ।

मारवा काज सो बज्र हिया रा भूरियां माथै,

खुसलेस आयो हाथां लियां रै केवाण ॥

गर्जा तूटै भ्रमुंडां गै ढाल फूटै सोर गंजां,

जुटै भडां हजारां तड़च्छां खावै जोह ।

भूरो बाघ चंपोराव भूरियां ऊपरा भुट्टै,

छुट्टे प्रांण कायरां न मावै हिये छोह ॥

भागै भीच गोरा सिधांपरां रा जिहांन भालो,

दावो तेगां भाट दे उतालो दखू देस ।

तिसू नौद न आवै, कंपनी लगाड़े ताला,

कालो हिये न मावै अगंजी खुसलेस ॥

millions at large to make a common cause against the British. For months together they went on waiting for a suitable opportunity; and, when the opportunity came, they failed to rise in time and their belated efforts were destined to succumb. The revolt at Auwa can also be interpreted to mean an indication of the grave unrest prevailing among the feudal chiefs against the British innovations designed to end the political supremacy of the jagirdars in Rajasthan.

The story would certainly have been different, if there had been a group of inspired patriots possessing a grim determination to end the foreign rule. Above all, the ruling princes, who carried with them for the most part, their own troops and the majority of their subjects, being awfully bewildered and confused, saw in the efforts of their Jagirdar rebels their own ruin and as such stuck fast to the protecting power which had given them full protection against the feudal anarchy in the past. It was only an irony of fate that none of the All-India leaders ever realised the fighting potentiality of Rajasthan; nor did they ever attach any importance to the anti-British ferment prevailing in the native States of Rajputana and no effort was made by them at the earlier stage to seek the assistance of the people inhabiting this area. In the absence of a proper lead and uniform policy, the dormant anti-British ferment in Rajasthan was destined to die a natural death and the sporadic agitations, engineered by the leaderless chieftains of feudal Rajasthan, were crushed with a heavy hand. What it left behind was only a painful memory of a silver lining in a dark cloud—a lining which flashed with a spark only once, and, then, disappeared to wither and rot sinking low down deep in the depths of despondent frustration to be revived every year on the occasion of the Holi festival by the thrilling burden of a popular song.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### UPHEAVAL AT KOTAH

The revolt at Kotah was considered as one of the most important incidents of the 1857 struggle. It was here that the Political Agent was murdered, the pro-British ruling chief was rendered absolutely helpless and the mutinous soldiery took the entire administration into their hands. According to the report, submitted by General Lawrence, the mutiny at Kotah broke out because the advice given to the Kotah Maharao, was made known to the troops and the officers of the Kotah Durbar. 'Major Burton, the Political Agent at Kotah, had accompanied the troops of the Kotah State when they were sent to garrison Neemuch. On their return to Kotah, he remained behind at Neemuch, at the request of the Maharao, who wished him to postpone his return for a time as he (the Maharao) in unsettled times, could not have entire confidence in his troops. On October 12, Major Burton returned to Kotah with two of his sons.....The following day the Maharao visited the agent in State, and on the next day Major Burton, accompanied by his sons, returned the visit. On this occasion, after the public reception, the agent had a private interview with the Maharaja at which no one was present but a Vakeel who was subsequently blown away by the rebels. The Maharao states that Major Burton urged him to punish and dismiss several of his officers who were known to be disaffected, and it is probable that the Vakeel after the meeting made the advice known to the troops and their officers who all at once determined to avenge themselves on Major Burton. Accordingly, the

following day, October 15, bodies of the troops, accompanied by a rabble from the town suddenly surrounded the Residency, killing the doctor Mr. Salder, and a native christian doctor, who resided in a house attached to the Residency grounds\*.

Surya Mal Mishran in one of his letters to the Namlee Thakur also refers to this factor when he, while relating the Mutiny at Kotah, observes that Burton, on his return from Neemuch, insisted upon the Maharao to hand him over some five or seven officers of his, whom the agent wanted to hang. He further adds that one of these officers was Jai Dayal who later on gave lead to the mutineers. Surya Mal Mishran also refers to the helplessness of the Maharao who told Burton that Jai Dayal was no longer under his control†.

\*Trevor, A Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, page 12; File No. 2—Mutiny 1857-58, Vol I; Residency Records, National Archives, New Delhi.

† Veer Satsai by Sahal, page 72.

“...और कोटे दुपालो हो रहथो छै । परदेसी लोग और तोपां तो एक तरफ छै और महाराव जी और भाई एक तरफ छै । जोधपुर की फौज आसोप पर आई छी सो ब्रिगड कर पाछी गई । तोपां असबाब खुल्यो गयो फौज में मालिक सिंधी कुसलराज छो सो पाछो जोधपुर जातां ही राजा जी नै कैद कियौ । लड़ाई आसोप का पट्टा में गांव बड़लू हुई और पूरब की तरफ सों पेसवा नेन्हा साहब नखलोऊ वाला हैं तथा इंगरेज का बदल्या लोग हैं सामिल लेर अंतरवेद में आगरा सों नजीक आइ गया छै परन्तु आगरे तो न अटकै और चल्या आवे तो ठीक दीसे छै श्री गंगा के धाटे थाग ऊतरथा सुण्या छै और बड़ोदा सों राजाजी ने तथा बैवरजी ने सौपुर में अमल जाइ कियो छै सो जाणसी और कोटे काती बुद १३ तेरस के दिन अमल बरटन साहब बेटा दोइ सहित मारथो सो तो पहिली सुणी ही होसी ऊं बदल्यां लोगां में वतन कामां को कायस्थ लाला जबदयाल छै नीमच सों बरटन कोटे आयो जदी महारावजी सों पांच सात आदमी गल देवा वास्ते

(शेष पृष्ठ ६० पर)

Captain Eden, in his letter No. 80, dated the 28th October, 1857, suggested to the A.G.G. on the score of some private information that the Kotah Chief had in employment two persons Ratan Lal and Jiya Lal who were mischievous and in spite of Burton's request for their removal, they continued to be in service still. Eden, therefore, suggested that possibly the Kotah Chief was also involved in this murder issue†. There is, however, insufficient evidence to show that the Kotah Chief could in any way have been culpable as to the murder of Major Burton and his family.

A critical analysis of the ferocity with which the mutineers at Kotah proceeded to control the affairs would reveal that their efforts must have been backed by some sort of organisation. They succeeded not only in bringing about the death of Major Burton but could also win the active sympathy and support of quite a large number of

मांग्या त्यां में यो जयदयाल बी छै महासवजी तो कही या म्हारा काबू में नहीं फेर ऊंही रात ई जयदयाल नै परदेसी लोग तमाम इकमनो कियो तड़कै ही बगले तोपां लगइ इंगरेज मारि लियो तीं पाछो मुसायब मुनसी रतनलाल महारावजी की खास डोदी पर सों पकड़ ले गया न्होत बेइज्जती करि कैद कियो और भी सब किल्लेदार कैद किया धामाई लालजी अर देवता छोट्जी ए दोही महारावजी ने छिपाय राख्या छै लोग तो यां नीवें बी आपका चाकर भाई सगा तो पहली हीं छ्वा अर अर मेवाड की मदद आ गई छै तीं सहित हजार पांच छै हो गई छै परन्तु कोटे तोपां बड़ी छोटी कर नग १२७ छै परन्तु तमाम बदल्या लोग के हाथ छै तोपो का मूँटा महलां पर लगा राख्या छै जे रजपूत नाम धराके छ्वा अर साँचा रजपूत नहीं छ्वा ज्यों की बेइज्जती घयी करी' ।

† File No. 2 - Mutiny 1857-58, Vol I, dealing with the mutiny of the Kotah troops; Residency Records, National Archives, New Delhi.

Kotah State officers§; posted even in the districts and in charge of various forts. They could put the Kotah Government to a loss of Rs. 18,46,454/- and occupy Government stores, bungalows, shops, stables, artillery barracks, ammunition stores, Kotwali chotara etc.¶. They even laid hands upon the district treasuries and the Biledars of certain areas seemed to have sided with them||. The troops of the Kotah Maharao, which had been posted at Shergarh, also revolted\$. The Maharao was made a virtual prisoner and was rendered so helpless that he could be forced to sign an agreement which contained a clause that the Political Agent was murdered at his instance\*. So much so that the religious head of Kotah, the Goswamiji Maharaj had to act as a mediator and the Maharao was forced to enter into a sort of treaty engagement with them. The rebels had become so strong that they could not be dislodged without British Military aid and that they maintained their hold over the Town of Kotah for a period of six months.

The success, which the mutineers could achieve, stands to show that the civil population, too, in a sense co-operated with them. The Maharao of Kotah seems to have some idea of these anti-British inclinations of his people long before the murder of Major Burton and that is

§ Basta No. 69, Room No. 17 old Records, Fort, Kotah. The following district officers sided with the mutineers:—

- (a) Silehdar Chotoo Khan (Jalawara); (b) Faizd in Nathukhan (Anta);
- (c) Talukedar of Aton; (d) Talukedar of Sakatpur (e) Talukedar of Kaithon; (f) Talukedar of Awan; (g) Talukedar of Sarola; (h) Talukedar of Jaloda; (i) Talukedar of Kotra; (j) Talukedar of Kharoli.

¶ Basta No. 69, Room No. 17, Old Records, Fort, Kotah.

|| Ibid.

\$ Ibid.

\* Munshi Jwala Sahai, Loyal Rajputana, page 323; Lawrence's Report to Government of India (Trevor, A Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, page 13).



why he asked the Agent not to come to Kotah because in those unsettled times, he could not have entire confidence in his troops†. The Maharao was, thus, conscious of this resentment and feared an upheaval at Kotah. He, therefore, regretted his inability to take action against Lala Jai Dayal and a number of other officers even when the political agent insisted upon it‡. There must have been a very strong section against the British at Kotah because the troops of the Kotah Maharao were accompanied by a rabble from the town§, when they attacked the residency. An upheaval of so great a magnitude cannot be considered as an incidental phenomenon created as a result of Major Burton's insistence.

According to the report, submitted by General Lawrence to Government of India, the mutiny at Kotah took so serious a turn that 'Major Burton's head was cut off and paraded through the town and then fired from a gun and the rebels took possession of the city and kept the Maharao as a prisoner in his palace¶. The Maharaja at once communicated to Lawrence, what had occurred, deeply lamenting the fate of the Agent and his sons, and deploring his own inability, from the mutinous condition of his troops to do anything to save them.....they then forced His Highness to sign a paper consisting of nine articles, one of which was to the effect that the agent and his sons had been killed by his own orders. The Maharaja was compelled to temporise with the rebels until assistance was sent to him from the neighbouring State of Karowlie with the chief of which he was connected. These troops proved themselves bold and

†Trevor, A Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, † page 12; Lawrence's Report to the Government of India; File No. 2 Mutiny 1857-58 Vol. I, National Archives, New Delhi.

‡Veer Satsai by Sahal, page 72, Surya Mal's Letter.

§Trevor, A Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, page 12.

¶Lawrence's Report as quoted by Trevor in his Chapter of Indian Mutiny pages 12-13.

trust-worthy soldiers and drove the rebels from the part of the town where the palace was situated, and of which they were able to retain possession'§§.

So helpless had the Maharao of Kotah become that he requested the Maharana of Udaipur\$, to remove his Maharani to that State as the privacy of the Kotah Zenana was insecure from the turbulent conduct of the troops who had actually assaulted the palace\*. It was only with the military aid, received from the Maharaja of Karowlie that the Maharao could drive these rebels out of the palace and defend himself until the rebels were finally defeated and turned out by the British army†. The rebels, however, continued to hold the other parts of the town, the inhabitants of which were reduced by pillage and other excesses to misery and a great disturbance prevailed in the State throughout the period§.

The strength of the mutineers can be further judged from the fact that Kotah could only be recovered by the Maharao when Major General H. G. Roberts with an army of 5,500 men of arms marched from Nasirabad‡. 'When he encamped on the northern bank of the Chambal on the 22nd March, 1858 he found the rebels in complete possession of the southern bank on which they had planted a large number of guns, many of large calibre\*\*. Hearing on the 25th that the rebels were going to assault the palace with the object of seizing the ferry, General Roberts sent 300

§§ Lawrence's Report as quoted by Trevor in his Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, pages 12-13.

\$ Munshi Jwala Sahai, Loyal Rajputana, page 324.

\* Ibid.

† Ibid.

§ Ibid.

‡ Munshi Jwala Sahai, Loyal Rajputana, pages 324-325.

\*\* Ibid.

men of the 83rd under Major Meath to aid the Maharao and the rebels could be repulsed with a very great difficulty¶. Roberts crossed the river on the 27th with 600 of the 95th and two guns, and having placed the heavy guns in the fort in position to bear on the enemy's camp, opened on the 29th a heavy fire of shot and shell||. On the 30th whilst the remainder of the force cannonaded the rebels' position from the north bank, Roberts marching from the fort in three columns, moved on it on the southern bank and gained it with a very small loss's.

It was, thus, with a very great difficulty that Kotah could be recovered from the mutineers. All the British authors, including Trevor and Lawrence, are of the view that the mutiny at Kotah was a revolt, engineered by the officers of the Kotah troops. But the mutineers of Kotah seem to have wielded enormous influence over the civil population as well. Some of the leaders in the rebel camp belonged to Kotah itself and had a strong following. Jai Dayal and his brother Har Dayal had their relatives at Kotah and Meharab Khan belonged to Karowlie. One of the prominent rebel leaders was the son of Israr Ali who had rendered meritorious services to the Maharao in the past†. It was under the guidance of these local elements that the Mutiny of Kotah had been organized. So great an upheaval could not have been brought about with so great a success by a handful of mutineers without the active assistance of the civil population residing in the area.

In the beginning the mutineers were not against the Maharao and their main aim seems to have been connected

¶ Munshi Jwala Sahai, *Loyal Rajputana*, pages 324-325.

|| Ibid.

\$ Ibid.

† *Pasta* No. 69, Room 17, Old Records, Fort, Kotah.

with a revolt against the British. It was only after the mutineers came to know that the Maharao had been approaching the British for help and his kharita to the Governor-General had been intercepted that they started their campaign against him. Their attacks against the fort and the palace completely ceased after the Maharao had entered into a treaty alliance with them. All these attacks recommenced as soon as the Maharao started taking steps against them with the help of outside troops. The mutineers were, therefore, not against the Maharao and their fury had mainly been administered against the British. They would have accepted the lead of the Maharao, if he had come out with an anti-British ferment. But the Maharao, it seems, had been completely paralysed and had, therefore, been absolutely incapable of taking any decision, whatsoever. He had no control over the rebels and was himself subjected to grave dangers and difficulties. His inaction and helplessness encouraged the mutineers on the one hand to proceed with redoubled energy and on the other lose all confidence and faith in him. The Maharao proved himself incapable of either giving any lead to the mutineers or resisting their onrush.

If we scrutinize the list of places, plundered and attacked by the mutineers at Kotah, we can find out that they were interested mostly in attacking Government stores and very few private buildings and shops had been assaulted§. Being a few isolated cases, the civil population was left unmolested. District officers, posted at Aton, Sakatpur, Kaithon, Awan, Jaloda, Kotra, Kharoli etc., sided with them and ran away having plundered Government

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§ Basta No. 69, Room No. 17, Old Records, Fort, Kotah.

The only shops plundered were of Madan Mohan Bihari Das, Goverdhan Nath and Baij Nath.

property‡. The Mewaties who lived in the vicinity of Gagron made a common cause with them and the Kotah Maharao had to send troops under Fatah Singh to crush their Revolt¶. The Mewaties were mercilessly slain and they, who survived, were thrown behind the bars§. The citizens of Bhanwar Garh refused in V. S. 1915 to entertain the Political Agent and a fine of Rupees fifty-one per shop was imposed upon them. When the shopkeepers started leaving the village, the fine was, however, cancelled†.

The mutineers could burn Government property worth Rs. 22041/5/3 and the Kotah Government had to spend Rs. 10 lakhs over the additional arrangements they had to make for the suppression of the revolt. Rs. 66,606/6/3 were spent over the purchase of ammunition alone while an amount of Rs. 115687/6/9 had to be spent over the board and lodging of the troops which came from Karowlie. The mutineers and the district officers who sided with them took away gun powder worth Rs. 228205/10/-; Khan worth Rs. 1742/8/-; Sulphur worth Rs. 1560/-; Salt-petre worth Rs. 520/-; Oil worth Rs. 221/-; Lead worth Rs. 235/12/-; Keegati worth Rs. 7563/12/6; Jamegi worth Rs. 27694/9/-; Geru worth Rs. 16/- and Sutli worth Rs. 325/7/-. The sum total of the loss, sustained by the Kotah Government as a result of the mutiny, comes to Rs. 1846454/-§.

The merciless torture meted out by the British troops to the disaffected population of Kotah goes to reveal the

‡ Basta No. 69, Room No. 17, Old Records, Fort, Kotah.

The district officers of Jalwara, Anata, Kaithon, Sakatpur, Awan, Sarola, Jaloda, Kotra and Kharoli took away from Government treasury money worth Rs. 15/-; Rs. 590/-; Rs. 66/-; Rs. 118/9/-; Rs. 46/-; Rs. 172/12/6; Rs. 415/8/6; Rs. 125/9/-; Rs. 98/2/-; Rs. 91/-; respectively.

¶ Basta No. 69, Room No. 17, Old Records, Fort, Kotah.

§ Ibid. .

† Basta No. 51/2, Room No. 3, Old Records, Fort, Kotah.

§ Basta No. 69, Room No. 17, Old Records, Fort, Kotah.

fury of their retribution. The European troops of the Company broke open houses and took away whatever property and cash they came across at Nanta‡. Even the ornaments, decorating the statue of Ganeshji were not spared¶. A Kalal of Gumanpura was fined Rupees One Hundred and Fifty for providing the mutineers with wine\$. A goldsmith by name Ganga Dhar was fined Rs. Four Hundred Fifty for selling a langar to Lala Jai Dayal—the chief revolutionary of Kotah†; Shah Chhotoo Ram of Nand Gaon, Kotah, was fined Rs. 200 for having involved himself in the struggle||.

‡ Basta No. 69, Room No. 17, Old Fort, Kotah.

¶ Ibid.

\$ Basta No. 30, Room No. 23, Old Records, Kotah.

† Ibid.

|| Basta No. 30, Room No. 23, Old Records, Fort, Kotah; Surya Mal. too, in his letter of V.S. 1915 addressed to Thakur Parwat Singh of Kadana gives a vivid description of this revengeful fury :—

“और आपने इधर की खबरों के लिये लिखा सो परमेस्वर की कृपा से इधर तो शांति हो है। आषाढ़ में लगभग २० हजार काले सिपाहियों की फौज आई थी सो यहां से तो टल गई और मेवाड़ तक पहुंच कर लौटते समय भाला की छावनी लूट कर शाहाबाद की भाड़ी में घुसी। भाला भाग गया और अभी तक लौटकर नहीं आया है। पहले कोटे की फौज ने विरुद्ध होकर एजेंट को मार डाला था, इस बात पर चैत्र के महीने में अंग्रेज की फौज ने यहां आकर लड़ाई की थी। चौथे दिन विद्रोही फौज तो यहां से निकल भागी और अंग्रेज ने कोटे को सब तरह से लूटकर खराब किया। बहुत से आदमियों को फांसी दी, और बहुतों को बन्दूक से मार डाला। बहुत सी स्त्रियों की इज्जत खराब की और बहुत सी तोपें फोड़ डाली तथा बहुत से रुपये लेकर महारावजी को कोटा वापिस दे गया। हमारे प्रांत में तो यही वृत्तान्त हुआ सो विदित हो। और देशों के विषय में अफवाहें तो बहुत उड़ रही हैं परन्तु बिना निश्चय नहीं लिखा जा सकता, पहले धार में तथा अबभरा में अंग्रेजों ने अपना अधिकार कर लिया था सो बात प्रसिद्ध नहीं है। अब ऐसा सुनते हैं कि धार वापिस दे दी गई है और पूर्व में पेशवा नाना साहब के पास तीन लाख फौज अगई सुनते हैं।”

(Translation as given in  
Veer Satsai by Sahai, page 78)

The bahies of V.S. 1915, refer to the arrival of the British troops in the villages of the area near Bari Kacheri and also the harm done by them to the peaceful communities living in the area. The terror-stricken villagers left their homes and ran away. The British troops entered the villages, broke open houses and took possession of whatever cash and property, they came across there. Even the corn lying in the fields was taken away by the British and the standing crops were destroyed by them§. The followers of Jai Dayal took to the'r heels‡. Their houses were besieged, plundered and set on fire. The property, belonging to them, was confiscated and auctioned¶. Merciless torture was meted out to their dependents\*. The Mewati mutineers were cut into pieces at Dadwara on the banks of the river Chambal. The punishment inflicted upon the rebel leaders was simply inhuman and Jai Dayal was arrested and blown off†.

How could the revolt at Kotah assume so furious a magnitude? The Maharao 'being a weak-minded man of dull and apathetic temperament', failed to control the trend of affairs. The co-operation which the mutineers received from the civil population and the officers of Maharao strengthened their position considerably. The citizens of Kotah and also of the neighbouring areas had been staunchly anti-British and their sympathies in a way strengthened the anti-British forces. The observations, made by Shri Surya

§ Basta No. 36, Room No. 21, Bari Kacheri, Krishan Bhandar, Jhala Haveli, Kotah (Bahies of 1915 V.S.).

‡ Basta No. 69, Room No. 17, Old Records, Fort, Kotah.

¶ Basta No. 170, Room No. 1, Jhala Haveli, Fort, Kotah.

\* Ibid.

† Basta No. 30, Room No. 23, Old Records, Fort, Kotah.

Mal Mishran in his letters\$ to a number of Jagirdars give us a clue to the public opinion in Kotah. Surya Mal had no vested interests and was a man of high intellectual calibre. He has referred to a number of apprehensions which he might have shared in common with his contemporaries. According to his letter, addressed to Thakur Phool Singh of Peeplya, Hinduism was in danger and the

\$ Shri Surya Mal Mishran wrote a number of letters to his Jagirdar friends. In his letter of the First Bright-half of Posh V. S. 1914 addressed to Thakur Phool Singh of Peeplya he observes :—

“और शरीर की नित्यचर्या में निपट सावधानी रखावसी । यो शरीर जीं अर्थ लाग्यो आछो लागै ऊं अर्थ आयां तो तृण सों भी तुच्छ गिग्यो जावै छै सो तो ठीक ही छै तींको तो म्हाने भी निश्चित भरोसो छै परन्तु ऊं अर्थ बिना और समय में सदा ही यो शरीर प्रयत्नपूर्वक रक्षा करवा कां छै अर ईनै अरथ लगावा को भी समय तो परमेश्वर ने पलटायो छै कदाचित् राज जिसे मुञ्जियां का तथा राज के लारै लगा हमस्त कातरां का ए शरीर कैही अर्थ लागै तो एक योगी ज्ञानी अर भक्त यां तीनां बिन अस्यो बड़ो लाभ और कोई भी छै नहीं अर योगी ज्ञानी भक्त कै भी या बात होई तो सोना में सुगन्ध होइ ज्यों अत्यन्त शोभा पावै तीसों परमेश्वर या बात मिलावै तो उत्तमोत्तम छै परन्तु अल्प परिकर वाला तो आपणै जिस्या सारा हो ईं बात नै चाहं छां परन्तु आपणै तो केवल स्वर्ग प्राप्ति को अर अठे कीर्ति को यो हि फल छै अर ये राजा लोग देशवती जमी का ठाकर छै जे सारा ही हिमालय का गल्या ही नीसरया सो बाजीस सों लेर साठ सतर बरस ताई पाछै पटक्या छै तो भी गुलामी करै छै परन्तु यो म्हारो वचन राज याद राखोगा कि जै अबकै (अंग्रेज) रह्यो तो ईको गायो ही पूरो करसी जमीं को ठाकर कोई भी न रहसी सब ईसाई हो जासी तीसो दूरदेशो विचारै तो फायदो कोई कै भी नहीं परन्तु आपणो आछो दिन होय तो विचारै और राज जसो सुहत म्हारै होय तो बडाई तरीकै लिखी जावै तीसू थोड़ी में बहुत जाण लेसी । विशेषु अलमिति पौष शुक्ल प्रतिपदा १ ज्यजुर्वेदाङ्ग भू १६१४ मित नरेन्द्र विक्रमार्क शक सङ्गतयां लिपिरियम् ।”

(Veer Satsai by Sahal, page 76)

शेष पृष्ठ ७० पर



British hegemony over India was detrimental to the Indian culture. He also insisted that India did not stand to gain in any way from the British rule and that the British victory over the mutineers would mean a very great disaster to the Indians. He even feared lest the Jagirdars should lose their Jagirs. He was very strong in his condemnation of the lethargy and the slavish mentality of the ruling princes. He expected the addressees of his letters to come up to his expectations and lay down their lives for the sake of a high ideal. He revealed his anxiety for the maintenance of Indian Independence. He even admitted that the proper time when the Rajputs should gird up their loins had come. While referring to the incidents at Kotah during the mutiny, Shri Surya Mal in his letter to the Thakur of Namlee clearly says that the victory

In his letter of Ninth Bright-half of Chaitra V.S. 1915 to Namlee Thakur, he observed:—

‘धार सों तथा अमभरा मां अंग्रेज को काँई कनूर बणि आयो मोची सात्रिक दस्तूर लिखावसी और राजसिंह के साथ पत्र गयो तीमें धर्म के निमित्त युयुत्सा को प्रश्न लिख्यो छै तींको भी प्रत्युत्तर लिखायो नहीं सो अत्र ज्यां ज्यां की जसी जसी तरह दोसती होय सो लिखावसी—मलेच्छां को इरादो अस्यो दीसै छै कि अबकै रह्या तो ई आर्यावत नै परतंत्र करि ही देसी अर ठिकारो कोई भी हिन्दू कै न रहसी परन्तु परमेश्वर की इच्छा आर्य न राखबा की दीसै छै क्योंकि अबार क्षत्रियां ने प्रतिकूल बातें छै जे सब अनुकूल दीस रही छै तीवों भावी विपरित ही जाएयों पड़े छै—और अटी का तरफ को वर्तमान जाणसी कि इंगरेज की गीज अजमेर सँ कोटे लड़ाई पर आई छै गोरा तो सोलासै छै अर काला हजार चार के अनुमान छै परन्तु मन में बदल्या हुआ दीसै छै और ऊंट आठ हजार के अनुमान छै और छकड़ा किरांच्या पेट्या बगैरे हजार आठसै के अनुमान छै ।

of the Indian arms over the British filled him with joy\*. If a renowned court historian and a poet of repute could interpret the various incidents taking place around him, as efforts to end the foreign rule, the general atmosphere prevailing in the area must have been of a fairly excited and mutinous type. There is every reason to believe that the views of Surya Mal must have been shared by some of his contemporaries also. The Maharao of Kotah, it seems was fully acquainted with this anti-British resentment of his people and that is why he asked Burton not to come to Kotah and also refused to take action against the disaffected soldiery. This deep rooted dissatisfaction prevailing in the area gave strength to the rebels and in a way inspired the civil population also to make a common cause with them. The Kotah upheaval, therefore, cannot be dismissed as a sporadic agitation, engineered by a handful of disaffected soldiers. It was, in a way, broad based and deep rooted and the people who took part in it had not been carried away as unwilling victims.

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\* Veer Satsai by Sahal, pages 72-73.

“घर मांही सूं कढिबो तो अब ताई हो जातो परन्तु श्री परमेश्वर ने समय और ही कर दियो तीसों रजपूतां में रजपूती कटै कटै लाधै सो देखयां सों तथा सुण्यां सों मन के आनंद आजाबा को व्यसन छै और कटै ही रजपूती ऊधड़गी तथा बूढ़ी ही दीसैगी तो जसी खुसी बेखुसी हासिल हुवां कढिबो होसी । लोभ अनेक तरे का होइ छै त्यां में ही यो रजपूत की रजपूती देखवा को लोभ छै सो अठी की तरफ ज्यादा असर करै छै अर साथी भी बहुत ही मिल जाता सुणां छां परन्तु हिन्दुस्तान को दिन आछयो नहीं तीसों आपस में एकता करै नहीं. . . . .”

## CHAPTER FIVE

### ECHOES OF THE STRUGGLE IN RAJASTHAN

The incidents, which took place in the neighbouring provinces of India during the struggle of 1857, had their repercussions and echoes in the native States of Rajasthan also. Bharatpur, lying so near Agra remained in a ferment of unrest throughout the mutiny period†. Great excitement prevailed in Bharatpur on the occasion of the mutiny at Mathura and the Bharatpur troops actually revolted. Major Morrison could carry on his duties, under circumstances of great difficulty and danger, till July 8th, when under orders from Mr. Colvin to leave Bharatpur at the wish of the chiefs who feared lest the presence of a British officer should cause the Neemuch mutineers, who were hovering about, to attack Bharatpur, he quitted it||. Throughout the crisis of 1857, Bharatpur had been in a position of great difficulty. Her territory was overrun with the mutinous soldiery; the infection spread to her own troops; and her Goojar and Mewattee populations were not slow to follow the example of their brethren in the British rebellious provinces§. The citizens, inhabiting the native State of Bharatpur, had every reason to believe that the British Empire was no more in India¶.

† Parliamentary Papers, 1860, House of Commons, Paper No. 77, Mutiny (Honours etc. to Native Princes of India) Letter; from Brigadier General Lawrence; letter No. 784A of 1858, dated 27th July, 1858; paras 97, 98, 99, 100, 101 and 102; pages 126 and 127.

|| Ibid.

§ Ibid.

¶ Ibid.

Alwar sustained a very great reverse by a surprise from the rebellious soldiery, on the 11th July. Several noted Delhi rebels had been detected in Alwar and the State had been a very great sufferer as a result of 1857 disturbances. Her Goojar villages had, as in Bharatpur and the neighbouring provinces, gave expression to their resentment against the British rule with an unparalleled fury and gave much trouble to the administration by their rebellious and predatory habits‡. The native State of Dholpur too was subjected to a very great strain during the mutiny\*. Early in October the combined insurgent force (from 4000 to 5000) of Gwalior and Indore entered the State and the army of the Rana of Dholpur deserted him as did also some of his Chief Officers, and joined the revolutionaries§. 'The authority of the ruling prince was set at nought, his property was plundered, and the district was put under exactions†.' The Rana of Dholpur, being surrounded and hard pressed by the rebels, who threatened his life, was constrained to agree to their demands||. It was with the help of the Dholpur guns that the rebels attacked Agra§. The authority of the Rana remained in abeyance until December, 1857 and order could be restored only with the assistance of a force of 2000 Sikhs and four guns sent to Dholpur by the ruler of Patiala¶.

‡ Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons, Paper No. 77, page 127, para 103.

\* Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons, Paper No. 77, page 127, para 109.

§ Ibid.

† Ibid.

|| Ibid.

§ Ibid.

¶ Ibid.

Agents of the Delhi King and disaffected persons had been busy plotting and intriguing at Jaipur‡. 'Rawal Sheo Singh urged the Jaipur Durbar to play a double role and be at the same time friends with the British and with Bahadur Shah\*.' Though the ruling Chief rejected the Rawal's advice, Nawab Walayut Ali Khan, Meeyan Oosman Khan and Saadoollah Khan, who had been in intrigue with the Mughal Emperor\$, tried to raise the city up in arms against the British. A treasonable correspondence between Oosman Khan and Saadoollah Khan with Delhi was discovered to the Maharaja by the Political Agent and they were, therefore, arrested and placed in confinement†. They were tried by a special tribunal, their guilt was proved and while Walayut Ali Khan and Oosman Khan were confined in separate forts, Saadoollah Khan was merely banished||.

The troops of the Nawab of Tonk had actually mutinied, prevented a part of his force marching towards Jaipur, summoned the Neemuch mutineers on their route to Agra to visit Tonk§. The Nawab was beset in the fort by his own soldiery and, being reduced to sheer helplessness, he tried to temporize with them¶. Many of his disaffected troops had gone to Delhi after extorting from him their arrears of pay, and he begged that 'no European Officers might be allowed to pass through his State, it being unsafe\*\*.'

‡ Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons, Paper No. 77, page 130, paras 120 to 130.

\* Ibid.

\$ Ibid.

† Ibid.

|| Ibid.

§ Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons, Paper No. 77, page 131, paras 131 and 132.

¶ Ibid.

\*\*Parliamentary papers, House of Commons, Paper No. 77, pages 131 and 132, paras 131 to 136.

The public excitement in Mewar was so great that the Mewar troops had actually decided to raise a standard of revolt and the crisis could be averted only after Sahiwala Arjun Singh convinced the troops by eating a chapati (bread) in their presence prepared out of the flour which was reported to have been mixed with bone-dust†. Khairwara was another source of anxiety but the closing down of the hilly tracts saved the situation and everything on the whole remained under control\$.

Though the ruling chiefs of Rajasthan remained loyal to the British cause, some of their Jagirdars openly assisted the revolutionary leaders. If the contents of a report, submitted by Lawrence to Secretary to Government of India vide his letter No. 740 of June 29, 1863||, are to be believed, the revolutionary leaders were, to some extent, supported by some of the ruling chiefs also. According to this report, the Raja of Bikaner had promised to help Nana Sahib and had already assisted him. The Bheender, Asseend, Kishan-garh, Budnoor and Saloomber people were all for him. By that time he had no communication with Udaipur and Jaipur courts, though their Thakurs were all on his side. The report further adds that Tantia Tope happened to be at that time in Bikaner whose ruler had given him 10 sawars. As many as 5000 old Bengal Sepoys were in the Saloomber jungles and the independent States had taken Tantia Tope's force into service and, should occasion offer, some 40000 men were said to be ready in Saloomber. These contents of the report cannot be relied upon unless they are actually corroborated by some other independent source.

† Munshi Jwala Sahai, *Loyal Rajputana*, pages 221 to 248.

\$ Ibid.

|| File No. 20 Mutiny 1863—explaining the circumstances leading to the arrest of Nana Rao, letter No. 740 of June 29, 1863, Residency Records, National Archives, New Delhi,

The report was based mainly on the statements of a detective, by name Gaya Prasad, and, even according to Lawrence, they were not to be taken seriously.

Most prominent among the anti-British Jagirdars who accorded shelter and protection to the revolutionary leaders was Rawat Keshari Singh of Saloomber. 'Though the Jagirdars of Mewar had not openly revolted like some of the Marwar chiefs, still correspondence had been intercepted\* of a nature to prove that the Rawat of Saloomber (the recognized leader of the revolutionary elements) and other Mewar chiefs were implicated in the cause of the rebels, that they harboured the families of the latter, and that some offered asylum to the revolutionaries themselves§.'

During the year, 1857 the aspect of the Saloomber Chief was so threatening, and the combination, he could command, so strong—as to excite gravest apprehensions in the mind of Captain Brooke for the safety of Kherwara¶. Sir George Lawrence had recommended, long before the mutiny, the arrest and the deposition of the Rawat and the confiscation of his Jagir because he suspected the Rawat's loyalty to the British‡. Major William's letter to the Secretary to the Government of Bombay further reveals that the Rawat of Saloomber was also in league with Surajmal, an anti-British claimant of the Loonawara Guddee‡. A letter from Captain Annesley shows that

\* Intercepted correspondence enclosed with Showers' secret communication No. 90, dated the 25th March, 1858 addressed to the A.G.G., Residency correspondence, National Archives, New Delhi; Showers, A Missing Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, pages 107, 108 and 109.

§ Parliamentary Papers; House of Commons, Paper No. 77, page 134, paras 149 and 150.

¶ Ibid.

‡ Showers, A Missing Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, pages 48 and 49.

† Major Williams, Political Agent, Rewa Kanta, to Anderson, Secretary to Govt. of Bombay, Political Department, letter No. 106, dated 6-2-1858; Residency Records, National Archives, New Delhi.

400 rebels in 1859 stayed with him for one night and the next day they were sent away to his villages\$. He did not pay any heed to the letters of Captain Showers who asked him not to give shelter to Surajmal||. The intelligence reports confirmed that Surajmal along with the Khajanchi of Gwalior two pandits along with Mubark Khan and other anti-British chiefs received shelter at Saloomber†. From a letter of Lawrence, it appears that even Nana Sahib along with certain followers of his received active help from the Saloomber Chief. Not only this, he gave shelter and help to the rebels of Bhopal also\*.

All these anti-British activities of the Saloomber Chief were reported to the A. G. G. and Maharana Swaroop Singh was asked to take action against the Rawat but he showed his helplessness and sought British help without which he could not proceed against the Saloomber Chief. The Governor-General took the view that 'the responsibility for the misbehaviour, should rest entirely on the Udaipur Durbar and that he should be told clearly that, though the British Government does not want to interfere in a native State, but, if he cannot induce the Saloomber Chief to act properly, the British Government would take any step

\$ Captain Annesley, Assistant Political Agent, Mewar to Captain Showers, dated 27th Oct., 1859.

|| Showers, letter No. 291, dated 7th Nov., 1859 to Major Eden, of A.G.G.

† Intelligence report supplied by Subedar Hussain Khanto Captain Bukle of the Rewa Kanta Agency on 25-10-1859 and passed on to Captain Showers. Rao Sahib (Suraj Mal) Khajanchi of Gwalior and two Pandits, one of them is called Dada and the other Bhare, are with the rebels. Mubarak Khan Risaldar and his party is with them. He remained in the Gurhee of Ruttan Singh for about 25 days. Mubarak Khan was in the service of Rao Sahib before. He is now under the protection of the Saloomber Chief and is collecting a force. . . . . Men are being enlisted by Rao Sahib and the Chief of Saloomber'.

\* Lawrence's letter of 24-11-1859.



which they consider necessary'§. These anti-British activities of the Saloomber Chief have been praised to the skies by the bardic poets who considered him a revolutionary of a high order.

Rawat Jodh Singh of Kotharia, too, had a reputation for being anti-British in his inclinations and the bardic poems have lavished a very great applause on him for the shelter, he gave to the revolutionary Thakur of Auwa¶. Though no documentary evidence has been produced to prove his affiliations with Nana Sahib, it can, however, be asserted on the basis of certain statements (procured from the persons living in the area), that Rawat Jodh Singh gave shelter to Nana Sahib who came from Bithoor to Kotharia (along with his Guru Khak Puri, Ganesh Singh, Ganpat Singh, Mola Singh etc.) even including his mother. They passed the remaining days of their life at Kotharia and the Rawat gave them every possible help\*. Though the arrival of Khak Puri and his followers is not to be disputed, that of Nana Sahib cannot be relied upon unless otherwise some corroborative evidence is cited. Rawat Jodh Singh's intimacy with the revolutionaries can, however, be very easily established on the basis of a letter, he received from Peshwa Pandu Rang, who requested the Rawat to help the mutineers||.

Tantia Tope, too, in the course of his wanderings in Rajasthan, did receive some support from a number of

§ Letter No. 751, dated 21-12-59 from the Secretary to the Govt. of India to the Offg. A.G.G.

¶ Bardic poems eulogising Rawat Jodhsingh's anti-British role have been given in the Appendix.

\* Statements given by Jasraj and Harlal.

|| Letter from Peshwa Pandu Rang to Rawat Jodh Singh of Kotharia, dated Badi 8, mutilated V.S. 1916,

quarters. Malleson states that he was very eager to reach Jaipur but his efforts to do so were baffled by Roberts who had been chasing him†. Both Holmes and Munshi Jwala Sahai are of the view that Tantia's first step was to send emissaries to Jaipur where he expected a large party ready to join him‡. It is, however, not possible to ascertain whether any party at Jaipur was really prepared to side with the mutineers. Lawrence, in his report of July 27, 1858, undoubtedly observes that the troops of Eden were instigated by one Shivdan Singh, Ex-Minister of Jaipur to murder Eden§ and there is a reference in Metcalfe's two native narratives also that some persons at Jaipur were definitely against the pro-British attitude of the Jaipur Durbar|| but, in the absence of any documentary evidence, it would not be proper to make any definite assertion on the basis of such stray references. Moreover, Shri Fatah Singh Bahadur of Khetri states in his autobiography that 'one Rawalji of Jaipur, while on his return journey from Jwalajee to Jaipur, had to stay at Delhi and, on one occasion when he was sent for by King Bahadur Shah and ordered to write to his Chief for assisting His Majesty, the Rawal, simply with a view to humour his royal host, bluffed him and gave a false promise to persuade the Jaipur Durbar to help the mutineers'\*. Despite the presence of certain favourably inclined sympathisers even at Jaipur, Tantia might not have succeeded in obtaining any assistance either from the Jaipur Durbar or the people living there.

‡ Malleson, *The Indian Mutiny of 1857*, page 395.

† Holmes, *A History of the Indian Mutiny*, pages 341-42.

§ Lawrence's report, dated 27th July, 1858. Despatch No. 107A-784A.

|| *Two Native Narratives of the Mutiny*.

\* Fatah Singh, *Autobiography*, page 58.

*The movements of Tantia Tope, however, created a very great stir and every one, right up from the princes to the people in Rajasthan, was more or less in a feverish heat of bewildered excitement either through fear or through sympathy. The news of the flight of the Maharaja of Gwalior caused a very great excitement at Bharatpur, though the Gwalior rebels, having wandered for a few days on the southern frontier of Bharatpur territory, marched towards Hindoun where they reached on the 25th June, 1853 and on the 27th they departed for Jaipur§. The excitement, to which Nixon has referred in his report, was not limited to Bharatpur alone but prevailed throughout Rajasthan. A Kharita of the 12th of the Dark-half of Ashad from Maharana Swaroop Singh of Udaipur to Maharaja Jagat Singh of Jaipur¶ also reveals that even the princely order was very eager to know the progress. The Kharita further adds that the Gwalior rebels have reached Hindoun and are proceeding towards Jaipur. The Maharana wanted to know from the Jaipur Durbar his attitude towards the rebels.*

According to Major General Roberts' report of July 21, 1858, Tantia bypassed Jaipur, reached Lalsot and marched to Daulatpur‡. Colonel Holmes chased them and they fled towards South-East. On being informed that the Tonk troops were ready to join the mutineers, Tantia reached that place and captured the city from where Tantia received ample help. If Eden's report of 24th July is to be believed the rebels in their course through the Jaipur territory were

§ File No. 32, Mutiny 1857, Vol. I, letter dated 29-6-58 to A.G.G.; National Archives, New Delhi; Major General Roberts to Lawrence on 21-7-1858.

¶ Kharita of Maharana Swaroop Singh to Sawai Ram Singh of Jaipur, Diwan Ha uri, Jaipur.

‡ File No. 32, Mutiny 1858, Vol. I, Roberts' letter of 21-7-58 to Lawrence; National Archives, New Delhi.

more or less supplied with provision by the villages at which they halted†. He further adds that their practice was to send parties in advance explaining that they had no desire to ruin the villagers; they required supplies for which they paid twice the value||. Tantia Tope was not in favour of plundering the civil population and, while engaged in his struggle against the British, he tried his level best to win the confidence of the teeming millions at large.

According to Holmes and Munshi Jwala Sahai\* Tantia was disappointed of all help in Rajasthan and wanted to return to the Maratha country. But, because of the rainy season, he could not cross the Chambal and proceeded to Bundi where Maharao Ram Singh shut the gates of Bundi against him, and, being pursued by Holmes, he made for the fertile country between Nasirabad and Neemuch. Roberts followed him and did not allow to strengthen his position. Captain Showers' report of August 4, reveals that the rebels crossed the Banas at Begoda, reached Burleawas and, having come to know of the march of British regiments from Neemuch, gave up the idea of proceeding towards Chittor§. Showers further informed the A.G.G. on August 8, that the rebels halted at Bhilwara where they were defeated by Roberts. Taylor, Holmes, Park and Roberts were all busy impeding the movements of Tantia because they feared lest he should attack Ujjain and plunder that area¶. They were almost bewildered when

† File No. 1, Mutiny. Vol. IV, 1857, National Archives, New Delhi.

|| File No. 32, Mutiny 1858 Vol. I Eden's letter No. 75 of 24-7-1858 to A.G.G., National Archives, New Delhi.

\* Holmes, A History of the Indian Mutiny; Jwala Sahai Loyal Rajputana.

§ File No. 32, Mutiny 1858, Vol. I, Showers' letter of 4-8-58 to A.G.G., National Archives, New Delhi; and Showers letter of 8-8-58 to A.G.G.

¶ Ibid.

on September 3, the A.G.G. gave them to understand that Tantia had conquered Jhalrapatan and had got plenty of horses and men recruited there†. The Thakur of Auwa was also reported to be at Roop Nagar and, according to Showers§ the forces of Tantia were further strengthened by the help they received from the disaffected troops of the Raja of Jodhpur. From a letter dated 3rd September, 1858 from Kotah it appears that, despite his defeat, frustration and manifold difficulties, Tantia was so bold and strong that he could capture Jhalawar and declare himself the Raja of Jhalawar. Some ladies from the rebel camp, according to this letter, went to the Raja's Zenana and demanded jewels\$. Tantia, thus, succeeded by this time in procuring additional help from the local population and his position was stronger than before. The fact that the disaffected nobles of Jodhpur joined Tantia goes to prove that he was moving with a definite plan and visiting those areas alone, where he was likely to get some assistance. He was, however, defeated by Hamilton on September 5 at Bijapur and again by Michel at Baria on the 15th. In utter helplessness, Tantia crossed Narbada†.

Tantia, however, recrossed Narbada and wandered through the jungles of Banswara. On December 9, he reached Banswara and on the 11th they marched towards Saloomber where they were freely supplied with all necessary articles||. Tantia and his troops were surrounded and in a series of battles they were defeated.

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† File No. 32, Mutiny 1858, Vol. I, Lawrence's letter of 3-9-58 to Roberts; National Archives, New Delhi.

§ File No. 32, Mutiny 1858, Vol. I, Showers letter of 9-9-58 to A.G.G., National Archives, New Delhi.

\$ File No. 32, Mutiny 1858, Vol. I, A letter from Kotah of 3-9-58; National Archives, New Delhi.

† File No. 31, Mutiny 1858, Vol. I, Captain Denny's despatch to Sir Hamilton, dated 15-12-58, National Archives, New Delhi.

|| File No. 32, Mutiny 1858, Vol. I, Residency Records, National Archives, New Delhi.

Tantia was, thus, ultimately forced to march into Central India. He had come to Rajasthan with a view to strengthen his army with the assistance, which he hoped to receive at a number of places, and, though he was given a warm reception at Saloomber, Shahpura and Tonk, the constant vigilance of the British contingents baffled his schemes and he, therefore, decided to proceed to Indore, where he could instigate the masses to make a common cause with him. Like a whirlwind he moved from place to place, resisting the British attacks and baffling the efforts of British commanders who were very eager to arrest him\*. The British politicals took fright at Tantia's entry into Central India because they feared lest he should instigate the Indore troops to make a common cause with him, break down the telegraphic wires and interrupt communication between Bombay and Rajputana. Major Sutherland marched to different places in search and pursuit of the rebels who escaped unhurt and their northward movement greatly disturbed the Resident of Baroda. Brigadier Park, however, defeated† him at Chota Udaipur on the 1st December and Tantia was, thus, forced to wander in the dense forest of Banskwara. His troops, being constantly chased by Roberts, Rocke, Benson, Somerset etc. were almost disheartened and Rao

\* Loyal Rajputana, Munshi Jwala Sahai, pages 180, 181, 182 and 184. According to Holmes and Munshi Jwala Sahai Lockhart and Hope met at Nalkhera where they were joined by Michel and they succeeded in inflicting upon Tantia Tope a defeat. It was this defeat which gave a very great blow to Tantia's prestige and for weeks the fugitives wandered about aimlessly sometimes breaking up into divisions under Rao Sahib and at other joining each other. They were twice defeated by Michel once at Mangrauli on the 9th October and again at Sindas on the 10th. At last they rushed southward and crossed the Narbada 40 miles north-east of Hoshangabad. Tantia's object was to gain Nagpur but he was prevented by the pursuing columns alike from breaking through the Melghat, entering Khandesh over the Satpura hills and crossing the Tapi; he was obliged to move west ward to Kargun and then halted to refresh his faded followers.

† Munshi Jwala Sahai, Loyal Rajputana, page 181.

~~Sahib~~ was now his only companion. He, however, pressed deeper into jungle and entered Banswara on the 10th December and again reached Saloomber where he obtained some supplies§. He intended to surprise Udaipur but, being checked by Rocke, he turned north-east and took up his position at Bhilwara. Being given to understand that Prince Firoz Shah and Man Singh were coming to his assistance, he made a bold effort to try his luck once more but his efforts were frustrated by the British troops who forced him to march towards Mandsor and thence to Zira-pur¶. Having been defeated at Baroda, he moved to Nahargarh in Kotah where Man Singh joined him and brought him to Indargarh where Firoz Shah along with his body guard and the 12th Irregulars came to his rescue†. The British troops haunted him like a shadow and they were closed around as a net which Tantia could break through with a very great difficulty. From Indargarh, he proceeded to Dausa where he was defeated by the combined troops of Showers and Honners. He, then, fled towards Neem-ka-Thana and Bairath from where he proceeded to Sikar. It was, however, at Sikar that Tantia was completely crushed and Holmes routed his troops. Six Hundred associates of Tantia surrendered themselves to the Maharaja of Bikaner who obtained for them pardon from the British Government§.

Being utterly broken-hearted and helpless, Tantia wandered through the pathless mazes of the jungle and, anyhow, reached his hiding place in company with Man Singh, who betrayed the trust, reposed in him and got

§ Munshi Jwala Sahai, Loyal Rajputana, page 181.

¶ Munshi Jwala Sahai, Loyal Rajputana, page 182.

† Munshi Jwala Sahai, Loyal Rajputana, page 183.

§ Munshi Jwala Sahai, Loyal Rajputana, page 184.

Tantia arrested. Tantia was brought before Meade and conveyed to Sipri where he was hanged on the 18th April, 1859 and the great mutiny ended with his death\*.

Thus the great excitement ended, quiet was restored and the hub-hub ceased to disturb the British Politicals who now heaved a sigh of relief. Tantia—the great revolutionary—was thus allowed by the people and princes of Rajasthan to be seized, while he was fast asleep and carried to the British Camp. A great revolutionary, endowed with invincible courage and dauntless audacity Tantia would ever remain to be remembered as the greatest military genius, the struggle of 1857 could ever produce. ‘No charge of having murdered, or having been privy to the murder of any British subject was alleged against him; and he emphatically denied having been guilty of any such act’†. He had never been a subject of the British Government and as such his opposition could not be construed into criminal rebellion against his sworn allegiance||. Being a faithful servant of the Nana Sahib, he stood up in arms against the British to set right the political wrongs, the company had done to his master§. He, along with his compeers, had only done his duty in taking up arms while following the lead of his master who had been forced to become a conspirator¶ as a result of British high-handedness and their ignoble breach of faith‡. According to the Royal Proclamation, British clemency was to be extended to all

\* Munshi Jawala Sahai, Loyal Rajputana, page 187.

† Captain Showers, A Missing Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, pages 146, 147, 148, 149 and 150.

|| Ibid.

§ Ibid.

¶ Ibid.

‡ Ibid.



offenders who had not taken a direct part in the murder of British subjects. Since no such charge had been levelled against Tantia, the death penalty, imposed upon him would ever remain not only a crime but a blunder also\$. In the words of Showers 'nevertheless he was sentenced to be hanged—and was hanged. History will ask, who approved and confirmed that sentence?\*. According to him 'it was a pitiful proceeding, quite unworthy of British precedents†'.

'It would have been more generous, more just, more in accordance with the spirit of the Queen's gracious Ammesty and Act of oblivion, to have commissioned Man Singh to arrange the formal surrender of the broken spirited and virtually surrendered refugee, than to betray his trusting friend, doomed by a foregone conclusion, to an ignominious death'‡.

The above are the views of a British historian who had himself taken part in the campaigns against Tantia. It is really painful to find a revolutionary like Tantia betrayed and humiliated. He wandered from place to place like a helpless refugee; the princes and the people of Rajasthan failed to provide him with proper support. One Man Singh's Rajasthan could afford shelter to Appa Sahib, Jaswant Rao Holker and the Ameers of Sindh even against the admonitions of the paramount power; the Rajasthan of the mutiny days could allow his name sake to get the greatest revolutionary of India arrested and hanged.

\$ Showers, A Missing Chapter of Indian Mutiny, pages 147-150.

\* Ibid.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

## CHAPTER SIX

### END OF THE STRUGGLE

Thus ended in Rajasthan the great upheaval of 1857. The British Administration could take pride in the fact that 'the troubles in Rajasthan had been limited to the regular troops and those of certain States, and had not affected the princes, peoples or general population'. They could also have the satisfaction 'that all who had money, position, and influence were on their side'. They were full of praise for the princes of Rajasthan 'for the assistance they gave to the British power in various ways, especially by keeping their people quiet'. Their fury and vengeance was, however, vindicated towards those malcontent nobles who, as the Thakur of Auwa did, saw their opportunity to set right the wrongs done to them and revolted against the British.

The British Politicals probably thought that 'the just and generous policy of the British Government in dealing with the several States, convinced them that their interests were best secured by the maintenance of British Supremacy' and, since Rajputana had suffered, too much in the past from Mughal rule and Maratha rapacity to desire the triumph of the mutineers at Delhi, the loyalty of the Rajput Princes was an outcome of this reaction against the Mughals and the Marathas. But the Princes in Rajasthan had been devoid of political insight and they were so bewildered that they were incapable of taking any decision at all. For half a century in the past they had been subjected to the tyranny, disaffection and indiscipline of their own feudal chieftains whose success in the Mutiny might have brought

about their political ruin. That is why they stuck fast in their loyalty towards the paramount power. But in fact they were self-seekers and opportunists who were wavering in their allegiance even to the British. The whirlpool of Mutiny might have carried away even these unwilling Princes, if the fall of Delhi and arrival of reinforcements might have been delayed even by a period of two months.

The feudal chieftains, despite their bitterness against the British rule had been actuated by motives which, though patriotic, were not absolutely unselfish. They lacked a doctrinaire basis and also statesmanship. The millions at large, who looked towards their princes as their natural leaders, failed, despite their anti-British ferment, to make a common cause with the Jagirdar rebels of Rajasthan. There was ample dissatisfaction and resentment against the British; 'at every station through which Captain Hardcastle and his troops passed the inhabitants cursed and abused them as English'; Captain Showers was hooted while passing through the city of Udaipur on his visit to the palace; the Jodhpur Raj troops indulged in demonstrations by no means indicative of respect and threw stones at a monument erected in memory of a former Governor-General's Agent, Colonel Sutherland; the explosion of an immense subterranean store magazine of powder at Jodhpur was attributed to the anger of God to visit the head of the impious sovereign who remained true and faithful to the treaties made with the unbelievers; the Raj troops, chasing the mutineers, made no secret that their sympathies were with the rebels because the British tried to tamper with their religion. Not only this, the whirlpool of Mutiny as it gathered in volume carried away thousands of Rajasthanis living around Auwa, Kotah, Bharatpur, Alwar and other places and they no longer remained passive sufferers but raised their ringing shouts along with those of the infuriated soldiery. But this was destined to cool

down before the fury of British retribution, because Rajasthan, despite her heroic traditions and glorious past, failed to produce a leader of commanding personality who, having worked up the popular emotions towards a right direction, could have succeeded in channelising their latent energy and hatred against the British rule.

Though there did exist in Rajasthan ample dissatisfaction against the British, the civil population joined the mutineers long after the two regiments at Nasirabad had mutinied. It is very difficult to account for this undue delay. Division of Rajasthan into 18 principalities, lack of organizing capacity and the absence of a far-sighted politician, capable of giving lead to the warlike Rajputs, may be cited as some of the factors responsible for it. The Rajput princes did approach the Maharana of Udaipur, who far from giving any lead to them, handed over the entire correspondence to the protecting power. The Jagirdar rebels of Rajasthan lacked quick decision and grim determination. For months together they went on awaiting a suitable opportunity and when an opportunity was offered to them they found themselves without a leader. In utter helplessness, they all looked towards Bahadur Shah who had been defeated long before they could reach Narnol. They unnecessarily wasted their time over deciding whether they should proceed to Delhi first and then attack Ajmer or should seek the assistance of the Mewari Chieftains. Then, they had their own vested interests, mutual quarrels, and selfish motives. Their hostility against the British was their only connecting link and the news regarding the capture of Delhi broke their spell. Above all the two great storm centres of the mutiny in Rajasthan remained without a link. No wonder, therefore, the leaderless mutineers of Rajasthan failed to strike while the iron was hot and their belated endeavours to rise up in arms against

the British deprived them of the relative advantage, they could have over others. Their own princely order was lying like a dead weight and as such they could not blow their trumpets before the first week of September.

A critical analysis of the various revolts which broke out in Rajasthan during the year 1857 will reveal that the mutiny in Rajasthan was neither an outcome of sheer coincidence nor the result of the arrival of the mutineers from Erinpura, Deesa, Deoli and other British cantonments. But at the same time it cannot be ascertained whether they were properly linked and guided by a uniform policy. On the contrary, the mutineers of Kotah had no contact, whatsoever, with those of Auwa. The Jagirdars were, no doubt, dissatisfied with the British rule. They did possess anti-British inclinations. They also feared lest the continuation of British Supremacy should annihilate their privileges, position and status. They were certainly against the British because they had a vague fear lest their culture and religion should be endangered as a result of British innovations. They were in fact prepared to fight for the feudal structure of society, sanctity of the Hindu religion and the maintenance of their privileges, but it is doubtful whether they had an All-India outlook and whether they had any specific plan of national importance. They had sympathy for Bahadur Shah, love for Nana and hatred for the British; but all these sentiments remained vague, indistinct and could not, perhaps, be given a proper expression in the absence of a uniform policy and proper lead. The revolts, engineered by the mutinous soldiery in the British Cantonments at Nasirabad, Neemuch, Erinpura etc., were certainly an outcome of the All-India conflagration; but the popular upheavals at Auwa and Kotah, where the civil population made a common cause with the mutinous soldiery, though inspired and even shaped to some extent by the rumours and news regarding the incidents taking

place around Rajasthan, were due mostly to local considerations and as such remained in a sense isolated. Though they were definitely inspired by the outburst of anti-British ferment, they were at the same time, without a legitimate plan and concrete purpose. The bardic poems and the popular folklore, while depicting the anti-British trend of affairs in Rajasthan, certainly reveal that the aspirations of the persons who took part in the struggle had also been shaped by their urge to oust the Firanghies out. The letters of Surya Mal Mishran suggest that they, too, in all probability, might have been dominated by the fear lest the British victory should enslave the whole of Aryavrat. But it seems that the Jagirdars and the mutineers, who fought against the British in Rajasthan during the struggle of 1857, were mostly destructive heroes, moving in a dissolving society. Even the vague doctrinaire basis which might have unconsciously led them to gird up their loins had not been inspired by any revolutionary or constructive ideal designed to shape the destinies of the new India to be born. They fought and struggled for values which had already been losing whatever significance they carried along with them. Above all they lacked constructive statesmanship in the absence of which agitations remain sporadic and even revolutions ultimately deteriorate into mere revolts.

The great upheaval of 1857 left behind a painful memory of the atrocities, meted out by the British troops while suppressing the sporadic agitations which had in a way shaken the British hold over the areas concerned. Had the princely order come up to the expectations of those who tried to strike a blow against the British, the story would have been different and the mutiny might have taken a serious turn. Mostly confused and torn up as a result of their own mental conflict, the princes of Rajasthan

remained more or less as disinterested spectators and allowed the rapid succession of catastrophic events to shape their destiny in a manner which proved most disastrous to the cause of Indian Independence. Their principal chiefs, who tried to make their bid for freedom were, perhaps too self-centred to play the role of revolutionaries and thus failed, despite the sacrifices they made. The vast population inhabiting this desert land, though in a way dissatisfied against the British, failed to make a common cause with the mutineers and get rid of their habitual lethargy and shake off the political dead weight of princely heritage and go ahead with a grim determination to end the foreign rule. Even then the upheaval of 1857 in Rajasthan did not end in smoke. The memory of those who laid down their lives was immortalized by the popular folklore and the anti-British ferment, though temporarily suppressed, forced its way through the subversive activities of the revolutionary era during the first two decades of the 20th Century.

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# APPENDICES



## **APPENDIX A**

*A Note on*

### **THE BARDIC POEMS AND THE ANTI-BRITISH FERMENT IN RAJASTHAN**

*Introduction.*

The treaty alliances, into which the rulers of Rajasthan entered with the British, were not approved by their subjects and the surrender, made by them, was very bitterly criticized by the bards and the poets of Rajasthan. The bardic poems composed during the 19th century, go to reveal these anti-British feelings of the people and enable us to see the reverse of the medal. The court historians and the European observers have, for obvious reasons, not touched this side of the picture and a careful study of the bardic poems alone can give us an idea about the anti-British aspirations of the people, who lived in this land of warriors.

The bardic poems of Rajasthan go to form, in the words of Sir Ashutosh Mukerji, a literature which, when better known, is sure to occupy a most distinguished place amongst the literatures of the New Indian vernaculars. These songs made the Rajput warrior forget all his personal comforts and attachments in fight for what was true, good and beautiful. They provided the Rajput warriors with infallible energy and indomitable iron courage. They help us not only in evaluating the important role which the Rajputs with their gallant contingents played in the field of battle but also in understanding properly the contribution that Rajasthan has made towards India's fight for her freedom.

*Resentment shown over Treaty Alliances.*

As early as the first quarter of the 19th century, Kavi Raja Banki Das, whose poems have all the elegance as well as vigour of Rajasthani poetry at its best, issued a very strong note of warning to the ruling princes of Rajasthan. The British policy of intrigue, diplomacy and deceit, according to him, had completely paralysed the Indian princes who acknowledged the overlordship of the British while their forefathers had laid down their lives for the sake of their States which these princes had so easily surrendered. He was rather surprised to find these princes so passive as not to raise even a finger against an enemy who came to bring about their complete ruin. He condemned the lethargy, with which these princes allowed their sovereignty to pass over to the British without putting up even an ordinary fight. While reminding them of their past history, strong forts and the military power at their disposal, he felt shocked at their cowardice which alone, according to him, was responsible for their miserable plight and pitiable condition. He praised the Marathas who did not acknowledge the overlordship of the British so easily and at least put up a strong fight, before their kingdom was lost to them. His note of highest appreciation is, however, for the rulers of Bharatpur who fought stubbornly and taught a very good lesson to the British. Banki Das went to the extent of exhorting the Hindus as well as the Muslims to realise the gravity of the situation and gird up their loins because a heroic race was expected to lay down its life at least for the protection of its women and the land of its birth. In the end, the poet, while lamenting over the worthlessness of the ruling houses of Jodhpur, Udaipur and Jaipur whose representatives had failed to maintain the reputation and the fair name of their families, falls back upon the traditional belief in fate which alone, according to

him, could now restore these downtrodden rulers to their previous status (Poem by Bankidas given under section A).

*Poems on two sieges of Bharatpur.*

The anti-British feelings of Bankidas have found a stronger expression in his three poems on the two sieges of Bharatpur. Being disgusted with the lethargy, voluptuousness and worthlessness of the Rajput princes, the poet seems to have felt the inevitable necessity of selecting a suitable theme for immortalizing the anti-British sentiments of the people around him. In one of his poems, he describes the manner in which the British came from a distant island to Bharatpur with a view to ruin India, after they had conquered Madras, Bombay, Calcutta and Cawnpore. He also refers to their treachery and deceit with which they had succeeded in annihilating the power of Tipu and others. Having described the strategy, adopted by the British at the time of their expedition against Bharatpur, he gives a thrilling description of the engagement that took place and praises in unequivocal terms the bravery with which the people of Bharatpur repulsed the attack, launched against their fort. The terminology, used by the poet while condemning the British, clearly shows the contempt, in which the British were held by him. Bankidas has struck a note of so unparalleled a praise for the rulers of Bharatpur because in those days of defeat and destruction, this, probably, appeared to him the only occasion when he could legitimately be proud of the strength and brilliance of the Indian arms. In another poem on Bharatpur, Banki Das pays a glowing tribute to the strength and the fortification of the mud fort referring to the attack of Lord Lake and its invincibility. The disgust and the pain with which Bankidas has condemned, in a subsequent poem of his, the treacherous betrayal of a Nimbavat mahant, who, having made a common cause with the British, betrayed the trust,

reposed in him and gave certain secret clues to the British during the Second Siege of Bharatpur and thus brought about its fall, stand as a testimony to the fact that the betrayal was considered a heinous crime throughout Rajasthan. (Three Poems by Bankidas given under section B).

These poems of Bankidas show that the heroic defence, put up by the people of Bharatpur, had created so strong an impression upon their contemporaries that all the anti-British sentiments of the people of Rajasthan found their fullest expression through this popular theme. Not only Bankidas, but quite a large number of other poets too have left behind a rich legacy of ballads, songs and poems to commemorate this victory of the Indian arms over the British. That Bankidas represented, in his poems, the popular sentiments, is beyond any doubt. Even the folk songs which are being sung during the Holi festival throughout Rajasthan, give vent to similar feelings.

*Saloomber Rawat's resentment over Mewar Ruler's  
surrender to the British.*

The very fact that the two sieges of Bharatpur and the heroic defence, put up by the people of that place, could constitute the theme of so many songs and ballads, points out the contempt, in which the people of Rajasthan held the British. So great was the resentment, shown by the people of Rajasthan over the surrender of the Rajput princes, that the literature, produced in Rajasthan during those days, contains glowing tributes, paid to persons who disliked this attitude of the Indian rulers. The couplets of Raghodas go to immortalize the indomitable courage, with which Rawat Keshari Singh of Saloomber refused to agree with the Maharana of Udaipur over the question of allowing the British to have a complete control over the Mewar administration. The poet goes to the

extent of saying that the Jagirdars of Mewar would have been reduced to the position of menials, if there had been no Keshari Singh (son of Padam Singh) to safeguard their rights at a time when the stormy waves of British imperialism had devoured the entire princely order of Rajasthan, Raghodas had composed a separate bardic poem also evaluating this noble achievement of the Rawat. In that poem he describes how Rawat Keshari Singh remained bold, dauntless and firm even in the face of insurmountable odds, and the roaring guns, marching troops and open threats of the British East India Company could not over-awe him. The courage shown by the Rawat, received appreciation from the Hindus and the Muslims alike and the poet considers this achievement of Keshari Singh worthy of being considered as the only heroic deed to be placed as a happy contrast to the shameless surrender, made by the top ranking rulers of Rajasthan. The popular applause, bestowed upon this solitary instance of open resistance to the British, can be evaluated by the concluding line of the poem where the poet records his highest obligation to Rawat Keshari Singh, for defending not only the land of his birth but its honour and traditional reputation for patriotism as well. (Couplets by Raghodas given under section C).

*Dethronement of Rawat Jaswant Singh and the popular  
resentment.*

The most abusive language used by Mahroo Dulji while condemning the deceit and treachery with which the Jagirdars of Dungarpur made a common cause with the British and brought about the dethronement of Maharawal Jaswant Singh of Dungarpur, go to reveal the resentment, the people of Rajasthan were capable of showing over the assistance, given to the British by Indian Jagirdars. The poet calls the dishonest pro-British chieftains of Dungarpur

as mean, base and disloyal and states in clear-cut terms that Maharawal Jaswant Singh could never have been forced to surrender his fort to the British, if these enemies of the nation had not betrayed him and if there had been true and honest patriots to stand by his side. The anguish and pain with which the poet describes the shamelessness and treachery, shown by the disloyal chiefs, reveal the intensity of the shock, sustained by the people of Dungarpur. He has bitterly condemned the stupidity and disloyalty of those who handed over Rawal Jaswant Singh to the British as if he had been a TABUT OR GANGOR. The poet in a subsequent poem has made the wives of these sardars hurl upon them unparalleled abuse by reminding them of their shamelessness and telling them that their mothers brought them up in vain because at a time when they ought to have laid down their lives while fighting against the British, they made so mean a surrender. The poet further adds that they could have, at least, refrained from being the cause of so great a ruin and loss of prestige, if they had held themselves aloof from the machinations of mean intriguers. They could have fulfilled their obligations in much better way by poisoning themselves. They ought not to have returned alive to their homes after having betrayed so noble a soul as Jaswant Singh who was fighting for the independence of the land of his birth. The concluding stanzas of the poem go to relate how the Rajput wives scolded their husbands on their return and rebuked them for having placed so dark a blot upon the fair name of Rajput chivalry by making a common cause with the enemies of the nation (A poem by Mehroo Dulji given under section D).

*Popular resentment over Salt Treaties.*

The anti-British feeling of the people of Rajasthan have found expression in a popular folk song, sung by the women of Jaipur. The song reveals the resentment which

the people of Jaipur expressed over the treaty engagement, according to which Sambhar had been handed over to the British. The song immortalizes the disappointment of the people over the Sambhar agreement and shows that they considered this act of their prince as stupid and injurious. While lamenting over the simplicity and stupidity of the prince, responsible for the loss of Sambhar, a very appealing reference has been made in the most sorrowful tone to the mournful cries of children who craved for breads containing the delicious salt of Sambhar. This resentment and popular outburst of dissatisfaction over so important an agreement could not have disappeared without creating a stir in Jaipur and the murder of Mr. Blake, immediately after the Sambhar Agreement, can in a way be attributed to this popular fury as well.

*Strained relations between Maharaja Man Singh and the British Government.*

The praise, lavished upon Maharaja Man Singh of Jodhpur, can be better understood in its proper context to his anti-British activities. The relations of Maharaja Man Singh with his Jagirdars had been embittered and there have been occasions when he had to show if not the ferocity of the tiger, its still more dangerous attribute, its cunning at least. Even then, the bardic literature and the popular folklore eulogises Man Singh and the glowing tributes paid to his remarkable patience, fortitude and constancy are unparalleled. For the teeming millions at large, Man Singh was the only defender of his faith and the proud patriot who could defy the restrictions, imposed upon him by the British East India Company. It is this aspect of his personality which could win for him the unheard of applause from the people who lived around him. A poem, composed by Man Singh himself, reveals his anti-British inclinations and brings out in bold relief his love for those

who possessed the audacity of challenging the British authority. This poem was addressed by Man Singh to Madhu Raj Dev (Appa Sahib) of Nagpur who having failed to reoccupy his kingdom after he had been defeated by the British, came to Jodhpur and sought Man Singh's help. Knowing it fully well that the British Government would force him to hand Appa Sahib over to them and would even take military action against him in case he refused to obey them, Man Singh welcomed Appa Sahib and provided him with every possible comfort and facility. (Man Singh's poem given under section E). It was this anti-British attitude of Man Singh which could create so strong an impression upon his contemporaries that his exploits could constitute the theme of so many bardic poems. Man Singh's strained relations with the British, the military action taken by them against him, the interference made by them in the internal affairs of Jodhpur, the manner in which Man Singh often rewarded the activities of anti-British elements and gave them shelter and his association with Chitu, Holker and the Amil of Sambhar, made him a sort of popular hero and the praise, lavished upon him, stands as a testimony to the anti-British inclinations of the people who lived around him.

Bhopal Dan, a contemporary of Man Singh, says in one of his couplets that while most of the princes were only the pillars, doors and other ordinary portions of the temple of religion, Maharaja Man Singh was its highest and the most glorious summit (Kalash). Another poet, by name Chainji of Parloo, praises the anti-British activities of Man Singh by saying that at a time when most of the Rajput princes were cringing at the feet of the British, Maharaja Man Singh was the only strong ruler who refused to bow down his head before them. He further adds that the princely order had been completely paralysed by the trained



battalions of the Company and no one could face the British save Man Singh who like a brave lion was resisting their onrush. The concluding stanza of the poem lavishes praise upon the bravery and courage of Man Singh, who alone, according to the poet, could maintain the traditional prestige and fair name of Rajasthan. This poem, perhaps, refers to Man Singh's refusal to attend the Ajmer Durbar. In another poem Man Singh has been praised for his patriotism and anti-British attitude with special reference to the shelter, given by him to Jaswant Rao Holker. The bardic literature has painted Man Singh as a patriot of high calibre and there are so many instances to prove that the bards of Rajasthan took delight in eulogising him as a hero because of his anti-British activities (Poems given under section F).

### *Anti-British Robber Chiefs.*

During the first half of the 19th century, the anti-British feeling in Rajasthan ran so high that the bardic literature, produced during those days, is mostly connected with the anti-British activities of those individuals who had to bear the brunt of the British autocracy. Even the plundering propensities and raids of certain dacoits and outlaws, who had to wage incessant warfare against the British, could capture the poetic fancy of the bardic muse, who felt obliged to immortalize their activities, too, in view of their heroic defence put up against the British contingents. Most of these poems contain detailed references to the economic misery and exploitation which the British rule brought in its wake and show that the people were not happy under the foreign rule. A popular ballad concerning Dungji and Jawaharji clearly states that the people were starving due to unemployment and economic pressure; these dacoits started plundering the rich because they could help the poor by distributing their booty among

them. All instances of British treachery, deceit, strategem etc., have been vehemently criticised by the bards of Rajasthan. Suryamal Mishran's famous poem, condemning the British for their treacherous conduct in their attack against Kanwar Chain Singh of Narsinghgarh brings out in bold relief his contempt for the British. The revolts and plundering raids of Rajput jagirdars, during the pre-Mutiny period, have constituted the popular theme, adopted by the bards. No opportunity of showing resentment against the British seems to have been lost and the popular folklore, too, has adopted all these anti-British episodes as the subject matter of its thrilling narration. Apart from the innumerable bardic poems composed in honour of Dungji, Jawaharji and Chimanji, we come across quite a large number of ballads and folk songs relating how the economic exploitation under the British rule had reduced the people to poverty and how the starving teeming millions joined these popular bandits who started plundering the rich and maintaining the poor at their expense. The poems of Adha Jadu Ram and others about Chiman Singh and Abhey Singh of village Dhana and their pitched battles with the British contingents show popular enthusiasm at the back of their plundering propensities. The beautiful poem of Girvardan about Dungji and Jawaharji publicly recited in the open Durbar of Maharaja Takhat Singh, goes to reveal the popular belief in the invincibility of the robber-chief, his audacity and success with which he attacked the British cantonments and plundered their treasuries. Another poem by Sandu Gangji expresses a hope that Dungji would be able to exterminate the British supremacy. Ujjval Lakhmidan has left behind a very long poem describing the pitched battles Dungji and Jawaharji along with their associates and colleagues fought against the British at Agra, Nasirabad, Ajmer etc. So great was

the popular support, advanced to the exploits of these bandit chiefs, that the rulers of Jodhpur and Bikaner had to give them shelter when they approached them after their defeat at the hands of the British. Bardic poetry is full of praise for Maharaja Ratan Singh of Bikaner who refused to hand over Jawahar Singh to the British even when they openly threatened him. The condemnation, heaped upon the ruler of Jodhpur who handed Dungji over to the British, shows that anti-British sentiment in Rajasthan was at its highest pitch at that time. So bitter was the popular criticism against the pro-British loyalty of the Jodhpur Durbar that he had to take back Dungji from the British and keep him in his personal custody (Poems given under section G).

### *Mutiny of 1857.*

The anti-British trend in the Bardic literature reaches its culmination during the mutiny period when the help given by Bishan Singh of Gular and Kushal Singh of Auwa to mutineers of 1857, was praised in the most befitting manner. In a very long poem, Gadan Partapdan of Sandu described the heroic exploits of Thakur Bishan Singh and his attack on Ladnu in co-operation with the mutineers. The phraseology, used by the poet, clearly reveals that the poet very strongly felt as if the British regime had been brought to its end and the victory of the mutineers was an established fact. The poet refers to the popular fury against the British and the help, the mutineers received from the civil population of Marwar. The poem relates how the mutineers defeated the British at Delhi and captured Narnol, Hansi, Hissar and Sirsa, how Bishan Singh of Gular approached them for help in getting his grievances redressed and how the mutineers proceeded towards Ladnu, Nagore etc. with the active assistance of the Gular Chief. Another poem by Girvardan clearly states

that with a view to liberate India from the yoke of the British, Thakur Kushal Singh of Auwa rendered assistance to the mutineers of Erinpura and put up a heroic defence against Major General Lawrence. The poet clearly reveals that in 1857 the British East India Company and its commanders had been thoroughly paralysed and the mutineers had fought bravely for the sacred cause of the land of their birth. The poem refers to a pro-British advice given by the councillors of Kushal Singh but the Thakur did not pay any heed to it and proceeded to lead the mutineers against the British. Trilok Dan in his famous poem pays a glowing tribute to the Thakur of Auwa who according to the poet fought stubbornly against them. Bishan Das of Angdosh has given a graphic description of the heroic bravery shown by Kushal Singh in the battle field and has condemned the British by calling them as confirmed enemies of the Indian nation. Quite a large number of folk songs, sung at the time of the Holi festival bear testimony to the anti-British sentiments of the people who witnessed the famous engagements of the mutineers with the British. The very fact that the people of Marwar take delight even today in singing these songs at the occasion of the Holi festival proves the popular character of the Mutiny and also the importance of the sacred memory, cherished by the teeming millions at large for generations together (Poems given under section H).

*Shelter given to Mutineers.*

The bardic poems, composed in honour of Rawat Jodh Singh of Kotharia who gave shelter to Thakur Kushal Singh of Auwa, Nana Sahib, his Guru Khakpuri and his followers, give expression to the high esteem in which the activities of the Rawat were being held by the contemporary poets. One of the poems states how Kushal Singh of Auwa had to bear the brunt of the British forces

and how in spite of his best efforts he failed to repulse the British attacks and ultimately came to Mewar for shelter and Rawat Jodh Singh gave him the desired protection. The poet goes on relating how the Kotharia Chief helped the mutineers from distant places like Satara, Delhi and Nagpur and how in the teeth of opposition brushed aside the order of the British and refused to budge even an inch from the stand he had taken. In another bardic poem a reference has been made to the circumstances under which Rawat Jodh Singh accorded shelter to the Auwa Chief who had killed the British Agent and defeated the A.G.G. The Rawat of Kotharia alone under those circumstances, according to the poet, could be courageous enough to come to the rescue of Thakur Kushal Singh (Poems given under section I).

### *Conclusions.*

The bardic literature is full of praise for all those individuals who helped the mutineers directly and indirectly. These anti-British sentiments, expressed in so bold and lucid a way, go to point out that whatever might have been the attitude of the ruling princes of Rajasthan towards the British during the Mutiny, the people had sympathy for the mutineers and the dissatisfaction against the British was widespread.

These poems contain an exaggerated account no doubt; and, while eulogising the heroic exploits of certain persons and anti-British warriors, they have at places gone, too, far to be considered of any utility to sober history. The details and the description, given therein, may not be factual and authentic, but the truth, which they represent, concerns the feelings, sentiments and views of the people and their reactions to the British rule. Literature is, after all, a mirror which helps us in obtaining a clearer view

of society, in which it is produced. The poets, who composed and recited such poems, must have received the necessary inspiration and enthusiasm to immortalize the sentiments of the anti-British warriors from the people among whom they lived. The bardic poems of Rajasthan composed during the first half of the 19th century, go to reveal that the surrender made by the princes to British was neither liked nor approved by the people; the anti-British activities of individuals were considered worthy of being praised; the people were groaning under the economic exploitation, and unemployment brought by the British rule in its wake; the dissatisfaction against the British was so widespread that even the resistance, put forth by the bandit chiefs to the British could receive unheard of appreciation and that the Mutiny of 1857 was a popular movement in Rajasthan and the people, in general, sympathised with the mutineers and gave them help and shelter. The poets, who indulged in this emotional outburst could not help giving expression to their views and their own anti-British aspirations have been so eloquently voiced in some of the poems. Banki Das, the representative poet of the age, while exposing the cowardice and the degradation of the ruling houses of Marwar, Mewar and Jaipur and exhorting the Rajput princes to make a common cause against the British had himself been subjected to a mental agony and a painful anguish because he had been shocked at the stupidity and worthlessness of his patrons. The fury of Raghodas against the pro-British Jagirdars of Dungarpur represents the hatred of the poet towards the foreigners. The enthusiasm, with which the activities of the mutineers of 1857 and their sympathisers have been praised, clearly reveals the popular fury against the British.

## APPENDIX B

*Selections from Bardic Poems.*

(a) Poems regarding Treaty Alliances.

### गीत चेतावणी रो

कविराजा बांकीदासजी रो कह्यो

आयो इंगरेज मुलक रँ ऊपर, आहंस लीधा खँच उरा ।  
घणियां मरे न दीधी धरती, घणियां ऊभां गयी धरा ॥  
फौजां देख न कीधी फौजां, दोयरा किया न खळां-डळा ।  
खवां-खांच चूड़ं खावंद रँ, उराहिज चूड़ं गयी यळा ॥

छत्रपतियां लागी न हँ छांणत, गढ़पतियां घर परी गुमी ।  
बळ नहँ कियो बापड़ां बोतां, जोतां-जोतां गयी जमी ॥  
बुय चत्रमास वादियो दिखणी, भोम गयी सो लिखत भबेस ।  
पूगो नहीं चाकरी पकड़ी, दीधी नहीं मड़ंठो वेस ॥

वजियो भलो भरतपुर वाळो, गाजं गजर धजर नभ योम ।  
पहलां सिर साहब रो पड़ियो, भड़ ऊभां नह दीधी भोम ॥  
महि जातां चींचातां महिलां, अँ बुय मरण तणा अवसांण ।  
राखो रे कींहिक रजपूती, मरद हिंदू की मूसळमानं ॥

पुर जोषांण, उबंपुर, जंपुर, पह बांरा खूटा परियांण ।  
आंकं गयी आवसी आंकं, बांकं आसल किया बलांण ॥

(b) Poems regarding the two sieges of Bharatpur.

### गीत भरतपुर रो

कविराजा बांकीदासजी रो कह्यो

उतन बिलायत किलकतां कानपुर आविया,  
मसोई लंक मबरास मेळा ।

यज्ञम धुर बहण अंगरेज वाटरण यळा,  
भरतपुर ऊपरा हुवा भेळा ॥

अलां मनसूर रो बंस कीधो असत,  
रेस टीपू विजें ब्रंबट रुडिया ।  
लाट जनराळ जरनेल करनेल लख,  
जाट रे किले जमजाळ जुडिया ॥

सेन रिजमट असंख पलटरां तरां संग,  
भइ तिलंग बंग किलंग तरां भिळिया ।  
अभंग जंग भरतखंड पारका ऊसर ऊवै,  
मारका बजंद रे दुरंग मिळिया ॥

सराबां बोतलां पोयां छक छक सडक,  
किया निघडक हिया, हरबळां कोप ।  
वीर रस ओपियां हलां विघ-विघ बघै,  
टोपियां दवादस तरां टोप ॥

पीठ बडबडात कूरम, छटा प्रळरी,  
मही खडखडात हेजम मचोळां ।  
मुनि हडहडात धडडात तोपां महत,  
गयण गडडात पडमाट गोळां ॥

अरक दुत सोम सम, नमं लोयणां असम,  
धूआं तम तोम लग धूरां धूरां ।  
तठे सूर लडंता थटे घण तंदूरां,  
हरख सूरान् निरख रंभ हूरां ॥

करं तदबीर गोरा चढ़ण कांगूरां,  
तिलंग फररं, फुरत फेल ताळी ।  
छूट पिसतोल पडहोल सायर छिलक,  
कराबीण सिलक किलक काळी ॥



तुरां खुरताळ वज तूर तासा प्रंबट,  
माळ फरहर गजां धजां माळा ।  
अडण अणडोल जाटां पत आवियो,  
तोल खग कपाटां खोल ताळा ॥

आग झडहडें डूडें रमं रण आंगणें,  
नाग फण नमै करे ससत्र नागा ।  
कठा लग कवादी व्यूह रचना करै,  
लठावन तरणा भड लडण लागा ॥

घडां सिर जोम, ताजें घडां धमाधम,  
कांगुरां तरफ बाजें कुहाडा ।  
किलो गिरधरण ओळें रयण बंधकडा,  
विराळें चोवडा फिरंग वाळा ॥

दिया सूजा तणें पेंड तोरां दिसा,  
सकीलां तरणा न्ह लिया सरणा ।  
बीजलां रोठ पावें समा विलावें,  
विजा करपूर करपूर वरणा ॥

अणी जटवाड बीरां तरणी आकळें,  
बिबघ तीरां तरणी मची वरखा ।  
हसम अंगरेज री आठ वाटां हुई,  
पूर पाटां हुई रुधर परखा ॥

अरांबां तरणी असबाब अपरावियो,  
भट किलकिता तरणी भागौ ।  
आड रोपी वज्रंद शीक वागो असंभ,  
लोक टोप पटक पंथ लागौ ॥

अमावड वनां मे हुई लोथां अनंत,  
चढै घोडां वात दिगंत चाली ।  
साथरा दिराणा हजारों साहिबां,  
खुरसियां हजारां हुई खाली ॥

अए खरब कळह तर कहं दुज अ्रेकठा,  
 गरब वां किताबां तणा गळिया ।  
 थया बळहीण लसकर फिरंगयांन रा,  
 चीण इरांन रा इलम चलिघा ॥

मेर मरजाद रणजीत आखाड़मल,  
 खेर दीघा डसए जबर खेटै ।  
 पुखत गुरगम मिळी सेन पए पांकियो,  
 भरतपुर फेर नह उसर भेटै ॥

### गीत भरतपुर रो

कविराजा वांकीदासजी रो कह्यो

पेलं कवादी तलंगां वाड़ा जंगी राग धोरै पोख,  
 महा जोम आपरंगी लीक सोबा मोड़ ।  
 गंण थंभ तूटै क्यूं भरत्यांनर चक्र गोरै,  
 ठोरै खंभ राम केसो किवाड़ां रो ठोड़ ॥

तीर तोपां कराबीणां दूरबीणां लाया तोल,  
 बोल फेर उड़ाया पाखांण तेण बांण ।  
 किल रंण, वाळें माया आसुरां न लागै कजी,  
 अंबजी फाटकां था पाहली चक्रियांण ॥

लाग खाई पूरे पाटां खड़े कंपू खेध लागा,  
 वड़े खाटां घायलां निराटां भीमवार ।  
 केम भागं लाट राटां जाट राटां वाळो कोट,  
 कपाटां ठिकांणां ऊभा नंव रा कुंवार ॥

भुरज्जाळ आया श्री गोपाळ कामपाळ भीर,  
 निराताळ चाळ बांधें जितौ मुजानंद ।  
 लेर बीड़ो कंपनी सूं जमीदारां थान लेबा,  
 फौजां करै फिरंगी न नांखै फेर फंद ॥

## गीत नींबावतां रै महंत रो

कविराजा वांकीदासजी रो कह्यो

हुवो कपाटां रो खोल बोहतै फिरंगी थाटां रो हलो,  
मंत्र खोटा घाटां रो उपायो पाप भाग ।  
भायां भड़ां फाटां रो हरीफां हाथे दीनो भेद ।  
ऊभा टीकां वाळां कीनो जाटां रो अभाग ॥

माल खायो ज्यांरो त्यांरो रत्ती हीयै नायो मोह,  
कुबदी सूं छायाो भायो नहीं रमाकंत ।  
वेसासघात सूं काम कमायो बुराई वाळो,  
माजनो गमायो नींबावतां रै महंत ॥

भूप बियां च्याखूं संप्रदायां रो भरोसो भागो,  
लागो काळो सलेमाबाद नूं गाडा लाख ।  
नागां मिळै साहबां सूं भिळायो भरत्यानेर,  
राज कंठी-बंधां रो मिळायो धूड़ राख ॥

आगरा सूं लूट सूजै अकठो कियो सो आरंगै,  
खजांनो अटूट ताळा लटीजियो खास ।  
कंपणी सूं वेध मोटै जागियां पालटै किलो,  
वैरागियां हुंतां हुवो जाटां रो विणस ॥

(c) Poems regarding the dethronement of  
Rawal Jaswant Singh.

## डूंगरपुर रा सोरठा

महडू दलजी रा कह्या

लागत लूण हरांम जसवंत में कीधी जका,  
कुळ बिदरां रो काम साबत तो में 'सावळा' ।  
हमकै 'अजमल' होत असंधारी वागड़ इळा,  
गढ़ छोडै गहलोत जातो नह रावळ 'जसो' ॥

(ब्रूहा)

ओढ़ें सिर पर ओढ़णी, सह भड़ मांगी सीख,  
 तुरकां रा ताबूत ज्यूं, मेल चल्या मछरीक ।  
 जसवंत नै 'गिरणोर' ज्यूं, मेल तीरथ मंझार,  
 आया सांवरण गावता, सांभरिया सिरदार ॥

### (ख) गीत डूंगरपुर रो

महडू दलजी रो कह्यो

मूँघा हालरा उगेर, ब्रथा पालणें हिडाया मात,  
 पोखें केण कारणें, जिवाया थानें पीव ।  
 लोकां लाज धारणें, फिरंगी हूंत झाट लेता,  
 जंर खाय धणी रें, बारणें देता जीव ॥

आधा जाता मूँडौ लेर, पाछाई न आवणो छौ पीव,  
 करे सारा भेळा, क्यूं गमावणो छौ कूंत ।  
 आग्रह थावतां वठै, पीवणो सही छौ आक,  
 जीवणो नहीं छौ, धणी जावतां जसूंत ॥

देखो बैरागिरां छाप, बडां नूं लगाय दीधी,  
 आवगी हरांमखोरी, माथें लीधी आज ।  
 कहो धणी गमावै, साबतां आवैं कासूं कीधी,  
 लुच्चा सारा बेस री गमाय दीधी लाज ॥

छोड़ लीक छाप माथें, बडां री न धारी चाल,  
 खोटी सला बिचारी, लगाई कुळां खोड़ ।  
 नीरा ले ले पीव सूं सांभरिया तणी कहुं नारी,  
 मेल आया साझा छत्री परां री मरोड़ ॥

(d) Poems regarding Appa Sahib.

### कवित्त अप्पाजी भोंसला रो

मानसिंहजी रो कह्यो

आये हो सरण जान मान कमधेस मोंको,  
 मानत हूं धन्य-धन्य असो अवसर में ।  
 लोक बीच याही काज बाजत हैं छत्री हम,  
 यातें अब सफल करोंगो भुजवर में ॥  
 नागपुर-नाथ जिन आपको अनाथ जानो,  
 रावरे निमत कर दीनौ सर-धर में ।  
 राखिहों सजलन यों सुरेस सों बचाय कर,  
 राख्यो हिमगिरि पुत्र सिंधु ज्यों उदर में ॥

(e) Poems regarding Maharaja Man Singh.

### गीत मानसिंहजी रा

लाळस नाथूरामजी रा कह्या

महाराज मान मुरधार माथें, चमू फिरंगी नांह चढ़े ।  
 रे ! जाएं सूरजवालो रथ, कासी सूं आंतरें कढ़े ॥  
 मारवाड़ ऊपर फिरंगी मिळ, पर बळ घोड़ा खड़े न पास ।  
 सिवपुर हूंता दुरसा हेतो, सूर बगल काढ़े सपत्तास ॥  
 गोरा मिले जोधपुर गढ़ सूं, कटक दूर ठळ जाय कहं ।  
 सिवपुर भांण विमांण सदाई, वांमो के जीमणौ बहै ॥  
 कासी सथर घणी नव कोटी, समंद अथाग कंपनी साथ ।  
 बेड़ा पार उतारण बाबो, नेड़ा भीड़ जलंधर नाथ ॥  
 फेंले फिरंगाण करारी फौजां, आफळती भारी अबियाट ।  
 धारी मान भुजां छत्रधारी, राजां रो सारी रजवाट ॥  
 जिण रो जग साखी जोधपुरो, नह दाखी करवा जुधनाट ।  
 खत्रियां रो आखी खेड़ेचा, खबां भली राखी खत्रवाट ॥

आठ दिसा तापौ अंगरेजो, हीमत छापी खळां हणां ।  
फतै तेग जहां फैलतां, घणा राजडंड रांन घणां ॥  
राजा हिन्दवसथान राखियो, तौ भुजडंड गुमान तणां ।

### गीत मानसिंहजी रो

चैनजी रो कह्यो

मेळै सुभट्टां कंपनी वाळा आया हिंदवांण मांहै,  
जठे सारी प्रथी-राजा पाय लाग जाय ।  
गुमनेस नंद तठे अंगजी जोधारण गावी  
इंद नरां न कीधौ सरदो सांमां आय ॥

तिलंगां हाजरी लेतां वजातां अंगजी तोपां,  
भेचक साराही दसूं दिसां तणा भूप ।  
हुआ मबां उतार गयंद जेम सारा हटै,  
राजा जठे खीज राया कंठीर चं रूप ॥

गोरां हुंत राजा रांणां राव दूबां छोडै गाढ़,  
दीपे हेक हुक्कमां समस्तां हिंदू देस ।  
सारी प्रथी सिधो विजाहरो छाजै दीह साजै,  
नाथ रं प्रताप गाजै हिंदवां नरेस ॥

दानां रो उमेल वीक भोज ओळै जाय दुरं,  
वसू सिध कानां रो कीरती हुई वाद ।  
भूमडलां वीच नृपां आन रो जोवतां यत्री,  
मानसिंह भुजां राजथान रो अजाद ॥

### गीत मानसिंहजी रो

लाळस नवलजी रो कह्यो

आया लाट रा खलीता वाचताई धकं लाय ऊभौ,  
घरं हाथ मुंछां छाय ऊभौ क्रोध धींग ।  
आपरं भरोसे राग जांगडो दिराय ऊभौ,  
साय ऊभौ जनेबां खांगडो मानसींग ॥

आभ लागीं गोरा-बळा छोडियां न काढै आगो,  
 प्रथी सारी आपाण छोडियां वहै पांण ।  
 रोडियां नगारो ठहै नहै मानै टकलो राजा,  
 जिकां सतोडियां वहै हेकलो जोधांण ॥

तुटै कळा छूटै ठोड़ ठोड़ री खंचाणी तोपां,  
 लाखां हाड़ा गोड़ री कुरम्भां आडी लोक ।  
 जोड़ रा ठिकारणां घणा मगजी मेलदी जठै,  
 तठै रही राठोड़ री हेक चोक तीख ॥

फिरी बागां जठेनं चलाई पातसाही फौजां,  
 भुजां लाज भळाई सदाई आई भाय ।  
 रुठियां धूंधळी नाथ कळाई ऊजळी रुकां,  
 मारवाड़ां दिल्ली नै मिलाई धूड़ मांय ॥

भाजै चोक हरोळां अरिण रा उतोळियां भालां,  
 धर्क तणो मेलियां जणी री रोस धत ।  
 रही आंट कणी री जौवार सिद्धाराज राखी,  
 साजी बाजी नवां कोटां धणी री सबूत ॥

संप्रामां संभारवैं बीज जुळा कसां आय सामैं,  
 रेण अ्रेक थोड़ा नामैं थावैं असी रीत ।  
 न मावैं फिरंगी हिंदूयांन कीधौ पाय नामैं,  
 आप नामैं नाज खाधौ विजाई अजीत ॥

(f) Poems regarding Popular Bandits.

(क) गीत डूंगजी जवारजी रो

गिरवरदान रो कह्यो

(इहा)

सेखावत जळहर समर, फिर चळवळ फिरंगांण ।  
 प्रथी सैंग कळहळ पड़ै, भळहळ ऊगां भांण ॥

(गीत)

खावँ आतंक आगरो, खापां न मावँ भ्रमावँ खळां,  
 घावँ थावँ अजांण लगावँ चौडे घेस ।  
 ऊगां भांण नाग वंसां मायँ खगां राज आवँ,  
 दावँ लागो पजावँ फिरंगी वाळा देस ॥

कंपू मार तेगां तीजी ताळी सो कुरंगी कीधी,  
 जका बाद नौरंगी प्रजाळी भुजां जोम ।  
 मानू तारकी विरंगी काळी घड़ा मायँ,  
 भूप डूंगँ विधूसी फिरंगी वाळी भोम ॥

पड़ँ धाका दिल्ली वंस, कूरमां चाढवा पांगी,  
 आप मत्तँ सेस धू गाडवा जोम आठ ।  
 काकोदरां मायँ खगांधीस ज्यूं काढवा केवा,  
 लागो केइं वाढवा हजारां जंगी लाठ ॥

तूटौ बोम वाट निराताळ सो विछूटो तारो,  
 केता छूटौ पीरांण आळखां ताकँ कूप ।  
 कोप रुद्र-माळका विहंगांनाथ जूटो कना,  
 रुठौ गेरां मायँ प्रळं काळ को सो रूप ॥

भलौ भाई सेखा राळं विखेर सारकी भोंत,  
 सारां सिरं छांबणी मारकी सोज सोज ।  
 मिळं थाट सबोला तारक्खी काळी घड़ा मायँ,  
 फिरँ दोळी भारक्खी भूरियां वाळी फोज ॥

(ख) गीत डूंगजी जवारजी रो

दाव लागा जमीं घणां हिये दूखिया दोयणां दूठ,  
 प्रवाड़ा अचूकिया ले भू - दंडां पांडीस ।  
 जंवारो, भोषाळ, डूंगो दुहत्या भूखिया जंभां,  
 सेखा चात्ते दूकिया विस्थ्यां गेरां सीस ॥



नाथिया उनस्थां नत्थां विरुहां बठोठ नाथ,  
 सिंह टोळा साथियां सबोळा लीबा संग ।  
 घासाहरां दीधा घेर बिभाड़ै हाथियां घड़ां,  
 वेध लागी कीधा धू विलातियां वरंग ॥

कंठीर काटके छटौ सांकळां राटके कनां,  
 मेलं चमू थाटके शेरहां सत्रां मोच ।  
 केवाण झाटके बाढ झाड़िया भूरियां कंधां,  
 विभाड़िया लाटके बूरिया धोरां वीच ॥

पोत रा सेवारा जंगी धुरावे सतारा वार,  
 धावे खळां खतारा भूदंडां धाड़-धाड़ ।  
 अबीह भतारा उंका आबै सदा आठवारां,  
 कंपनी जड़ावे किळकत्ता रा किवाड़ ॥

(g) Poems regarding the 1857 Struggle.

(क) गदर-संबंधी दूहा

मीसरा सूरजमाल रा कह्या

वीकम बरसां बीतियो गए चौ चद गुणीस ।  
 विसहर तिथ गुरु जेठ बढ समय पलट्टी सीस ॥

जिए वन भूल न जांवता गेंद, गवय गिड़राज ।  
 तिए वन जंबुक ताखड़ा ऊधम मंडे आज ॥

मूछ न तोड़ौ कोट में, कठियां छोड़ें काळ ।  
 काळां घर चेजो करै मूसा परा मूछाळ ॥

डोहै गिड़ वन घाड़ियां, ब्रह्म ऊंडा गज बीह ।  
 सीहरा नेह सकंक तौ, सहज भुलाणौ सीह ॥

सीह न बाजौ ठाकुरां, दोन गुजारी बीह ।  
 हाथळ पाड़ै हाथियां, तौ भड़ बाजै सीह ॥

इकडंकी गिए अकरी, भूलं कुळ साभाव ।  
सूरां आळस-अंस में, अकज गुमायो आव ॥

तन बुरंग अर जीव तन, कठणौ मरणौ हेक ।  
जीव विणट्ठां जे कठौ, नाम रहीजें नेक ॥

कायर घर ऊठा कहै, की धव ! जोड़ें काम ।  
करण करण संचैं कीड़ियां, जोवें तीतर जांम ॥

टोटें सरकां भीतड़ा, घातें ऊपर घास ।  
वारीजें भड़ झूपड़ा अधपतियां आवास ॥

महलां लूटण धाड़्यो, झूपड़ियां न सुहाय ।  
झूपड़ियां री लूट में जीव सीलणें जाय ॥

(ख) आउवा रा गदर-संबंधी फुटकर दूहा

चववा उगणीसे चढे, जे दळ आया जांण ।  
रह्या आउवें खेत रण, पूतळियां पहचांण ॥

हुआ बुली हिंदवाण रा, रुकी न गोरां राह ।  
विकट लड़े सहियो विलो, वाह आउवा वाह ॥

फिर दोळा अळगा फिरेंग, रण मोळा पड़ रांम ।  
ओळा नहूँ ले आउवो, गोळा रोठण गांम ॥

फजरां नेजा फरकिया, रजरां तोपां गाज ।  
नजरां गोरां निरखियां, अजरां पारख आज ॥

घुड़ला वण घूमें घणा, घट बहु लागा घाव ।  
कटिया फीफर काळजा, आंतड़ियां पग आव ॥

अजंट अजको आवियो, ताता खड़ें तुखार ।  
काळा भिड़िया किड़ कनै, घोब लियो खग धार ॥

फोटा पड़ भागा फिरंग, मेसन अजंट मराय ।  
घाले डोळी घायलां, कटक घणे कटवाय ॥

फिरिया दळ फिरंगां रा, थरहरिया लख थाट ।  
करिया जुध खुसियाळ सू, मरिया आळे माट ॥

प्रसणां करवा पाधरा, घट री काढण छूँछू ।  
क्रोधोला खुसियाळ री, मिले भुंहरां मूँछ ॥

उडंडां वागां ऊपडें, तेग झडें जण तंत ।  
कर मोठी खुसियाळ सू, कुसल मनाजो कंत ॥

काळां सू मिळ खुसळसी, टणकै राखी टेक ।  
हे ठावो हिंदवाण में ओ आऊवो ओक ॥

घन घोरां तोपां घुरे, वजें हाक विकराळ ।  
लहर ले अछरां लखो, कबडी खेलै काळ ॥

थिर रण अरियां थोभणो, नधपुर पूगो नांस ।  
आऊवो खुसियाळ इळ, गावें गांमोगांम ॥

### (ग) गीत आउवा रो

बारहठ विसनदासजी रो कह्यो

जबर अभंग जुध सुभट अंग कड़ां जरदां जडें,  
प्रगट हद राग जांगड़ौ हाका पडें ।  
धाक सुण उरां प्रसणन विल धड़हड़ें,  
खाग कर तांण कित पमंग खाता खडें ॥

खिमै कूतां अणी गजां लंगर खळळ,  
भांण कर प्रगट अत तेज तन में भळळ ।  
दध चलै प्रलय कज बहुलै अतर वळ,  
कवरण सिर आज री रोस दूजा खुसळ ॥

फबे दळ कुंजरां सीस झंडा फरक,  
 तुरंगां हांफ रड सधर त्रबंक त्रहक ।  
 थयो. रज तिमर दिगपाळ पबे थरक,  
 रोस रो झाळ किण माथ कमघां अरक ॥

मन घणौ सोच पड विमुल पुळ मठानर,  
 अंग उचरंग लग अरस सुरां अतर ।  
 चढी गैणाक अणपार आमंक चर,  
 अपछरां विमाण नभ बीच अडिया अधर ॥

देख दळ प्रबळ अर धूज दस देस रा,  
 धाटियां घसळ अत थरर धूजै धरा ।  
 सिंधुरां टला लग मचक धू सेस रा,  
 बिहद किण सीस आ रोस बखतेस रा ॥

बाहुडै फतै कर सधर ऊभां बरां,  
 हाहुली समंद बड चीत जेताहरां ।  
 भुजां ब्रद लियां दत्त देण ऋण भोज रा,  
 महपतां मुदी खुसियाळ दध मोज रा ॥

सुपातां पाल-गर जोग पारथ समर,  
 केवियां गाळ-गर वंस रा दिनकर ।  
 वसू साधार झोख लागै क्रीतवर,  
 अभंग पारथ अत इळा राजो अमर ॥

### (घ) गीत आउवा रो

बारहठ तिलोकदानजी रो कह्यो

कळह दगो गढ़ आउवै जेट आया करण,  
 भेट रण रचण आखेट भाई ।  
 विदेसी नेट मिळिया प्रसण बुलाया,  
 येट सिरकार लग फतै थाई ॥

आवरत ओट खळ चाल अडिया अडर,  
 दुसळ खग चाल संलोटे देता ।  
 वेर हर जठे पगवाळ खग वजावै,  
 कठ खुसियाळ खुसियाळ कंता ॥

इतें सुण सरब समरा भडथ ऊठिया,  
 वसु विखियात कीरय वदीती ।  
 घात झड सोरसा बात सह घेरिया,  
 वात करतां इतें रात वीती ॥

चोळ चख चूर वीरां मनां चाविया,  
 धोट वतळाविया हिय धरिया ।  
 सुत वगत प्रबळ तप तेज सरसाविया,  
 मारवा आविया जिकें मरिया ॥

कायरां चेत उड प्रेत जोगण किलक,  
 उपवट भूभट विरवेत अडिया ।  
 जेत हर जीत पाई समर जीतियो,  
 पांच अर असो जुध खेत पडिया ॥

रेण भरतार खुसयाळ अवचळ रहौ,  
 वेर हर सार अणपार वीधौ ।  
 भूसळ खळ मार संसार जस भाखियो,  
 खुसळ हर खुसळ करतार कीधौ ॥

(३) गीत आउवा खुसालसिंह रो

मीसण सूरजमाल रो कह्यो

डांण ठेलै तूं मातंगां भडा डाचरा उवाड डाको,  
 मूछां तांण पैले तूं कंपनी गजें माळ ।  
 काट थाणो रेलै तूं खयणां जमी जोस खाथें,  
 खसतो खपाणां माथें झेलै खुसाळ ॥

जिकां जिकां ओद्रावा पड़तां लारै जेण लागी,  
तिका तिका कायरां करेण लागी ताय ।  
राजा रो कड़बो है कंपियौ लारै जेण लागी,  
आउवै नाथ रै चूबै देण लागी आय ॥

पाछा पाछा भूपती देण लागा पाव ।  
दूजा वीर काळ रै सुभाव खुसाल रै देखे,  
गाजै रिङ्गमालां रै अंगजी गाढे राव ॥

मेवाड़ दूँडाड़ जीऊं ही हाड़ौती माळवो मोळौ,  
दौंळा काळ चक्र सो किणी न आवै दाय ।  
झालै किसौ तो विनां पयाळ जाती काळ झांप,  
लाडली पंगुली चांपा अंगुली लगाय ॥

### (च) गीत आउवा रो

फतै पाई जंगां थकाई पातसाही फौजां,  
उग्र ताई पोढी पोढी दिखाई आरोड़ ।  
चित ऊंचे क्रीत जादां लेण बाळी राव चांपा,  
रीत बाप दादां बाळी ना चूको राठोड़ ॥

भड़ां जोधां नैसरा मुकटां मणी बाघ भूरा,  
पगां गलां खतंगी रीधु रा सिधां पार ।  
साहंसीक जाडै भाग जाणियो जिहान सिभू,  
आर्डे अंक मारु चंपे आणियो आभार ॥

नवा कोटां नाथरा सुभटां छोआ आप नांमी,  
बांभी बंध लाखों पात आथरा वरीस ।  
ठीकारण पाटवी चांपा पाथरा प्रवाड़ा ठावौ,  
धरा चावो दानी कहा तरां सुरां घौंस ॥

चाळा मारा भूपाळा ऊमरांमाळा मेर चपां,  
उजाळा बीपक्कां ठाळा वीरदां अमांम ।

आउवो आचार सार सदा जिहान सूं ऊंचों,  
तवां आउवा सूं नीची जिहानां तमाम ॥

(h) Poems regarding Thakur Jodh Singh of Kotharia.

(क) गीत कोठारिया रावत जोधसिंह रो

हातां खगाटां हमीर, हथां बाप दादां वाट हाल,  
आतां चांपे धणी लाळो मेलियो अरोड़ ।  
धुबाते आउवा तोपां लारें, फिरंगांण धापो,  
मेल आयो मारू छत्रीपणां री मरोड़ ॥

राड़ी-गार चहुआंण जाती राड़ थोब राखी,  
साखी चंद-सूर जेते वातां माह सूर ।  
प्रथीराज पणो जोधा ऊजळो देखायो प्रथी,  
जुद्ध काज सामो कोस दोय गो जरूर ॥

चहुं छत्रधारी सुण वाखाणिया रायथानां,  
हंका वंका फटें संका उजक्क हठेल ।  
लेबा आयो छाक जके पाछो माग लागो,  
ऊभौ जेत-खंभ हुआं (थको) संभरी अठेल ॥

वातां जातां-जुगां जोधा नरां,  
जाय नमी आदू वडा सुरीयांण ।  
न जावें तिहारी वातां जुगां-जुग याद करें,  
आपो बिजा कान थारो जाणियो जहान ॥

(ख) कोठारिया रावत जोधसिंह रो गीत

पड़ अमावड़ ब्रौद छतरधर फिरंग पालटे,  
आंट धर क्रोध भुज गयण अड़िया ।  
सोध अंगरेज हिंदुवांण आया सरब,  
जोध सिर सेस रैं कदम जड़िया ॥

पड़ धक बिकट चांपौ मुदे पुळ गयो,  
भड़ां नट छेक उर नांह लूभौ ।

तोल खग टेक नां छंडे मोखम तरौ,  
अकलो ठोर भुज लइए ऊभौ ।

जाएता जिता सभाव रह्या जबर,  
उड़ी रण करण खग दाव आछा ।  
राव वजपाळ रा भार भुज राखिया,  
पांव समहर नको दीय पाछा ॥

सुणी जगर वंका बिल्ली सतारा,  
दाव जित चितां रा खंठा दीधा ।  
मरद चहुवांण जोधा(तू)अडग मात रा,  
कथन कळकत्ता रा मेट कीधा ॥

(ग) कोठारिया रावत जोधसिंह रा छप्पय

(ब्रहा)

मुरधर छांड खुसाळसी, भागो चांपो भूप ।  
रावत जोधे राखिया, रजवट हंवे रूप ॥

(छप्पय)

पड़घो विलो अणपार लार में सरब जनानो,  
नह हायो सुखपाळ, पमंग नह फेर मियानो ।  
दुरग छूट आउवो, भूप चांपो सह फरियो,  
घर मालव ढंड़ाइ, करणी नह आदर करियो ।  
कम्पनी खून सुणियो कहर, भइ मुख उत्तर भाखियो ।  
पलटियो देव दूजी दसा, जिण न रावत जोधे राखियो ॥

मारे दीय अजंट, खून मरुधर रो कीनो,  
फिर फोजां चहुं ओर, जोर अंगरेजां दीनो ।  
मगरां विच फिरतो, सहर सलूंबर आयो,  
खबरां रावत सुणै, कथन नराकार केवायो ।  
पळटिया देव दूजी दसा, सगा सरब ही पळटिया ।  
कमधज खुसाळ चांपा-तिलक, रावत जोधे राखिया ॥



## APPENDIX C

### *A Note on*

## THE STRAINED RELATIONS OF MAHARAJA MAN SINGH WITH THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT

*Man Singh—a mixture of opposite.*

Man Singh was a man of remarkable patience, fortitude and constancy, but also of cruelty§. In the school of adversity he learnt to master, or rather disguise, his passions, and, "though he showed not the ferocity of the tiger, he acquired the still more dangerous attribute of that animal, its cunning¶". On the other hand, Mr. Wilder, after much personal communication with him in 1822, observed in his despatch to Government, "Raja Man Singh is undoubtedly a man of superior sense and understanding", while Captain Tod, who met him in 1819, found him dignified, courteous and well read in history\$. Kavi Raja Shyamal Das describes him as exceptionally bold and wise but finds fault with his obstinacy cruelty and vanity. He was, however, surprised to find Man Singh so popular and renowned in Rajasthan in spite of these vices‡. The fame of Man Singh was probably based upon his scholarship, knowledge, boldness, courage and liberality with which he rewarded poets, historians and scholars. Above all he was himself a very great poet and patron of art and architecture.

§ *Rajputana Gazetteer*, Vol. III-A, page 73.

¶ Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. 2, page 823.

\$ *Rajputana Gazetteer*, Vol. III-A, page 73.

‡ *Veer Vinod*, Vol. 2, page 874.

*Anti-British inclinations*

A shrewd and clever ruler like Man Singh must have realised in the very beginning of his reign the consequences of entering into a treaty alliance with the British. He probably knew that the British East India Company first recognises the Indian princes as independent sovereigns but later on sends residents "who assume the functions of a dictator, interfere in all their private concerns; countenance refractory subjects against them; and make the most ostentatious exhibition of this exercise of authority" Man Singh's reign represents the stormy career of a prince who had to wage incessant warfare at every stage and who was surrounded by enemies on all sides. Despite innumerable difficulties, Man Singh never agreed to allow the British to interfere in his affairs and when an interference was made towards the end of his reign he was filled with disgust and remorse and the pang of self-mortification forced him to become a Sanyasi.

*Man Singh's refusal to enter into a treaty alliance  
with the British.*

In the very beginning of his reign, Man Singh was offered by the British Government an alliance which would have secured to him his territories without the payment of any tribute. The terms had actually been drawn up by December 1803, but instead of ratifying the treaty, Man Singh proposed another and, as he had in the meantime given assistance to Holkar, the alliance was formally cancelled in May, 1804, and the Maharaja was left to his own resources¶. The terms of this treaty were very favourable because according to it the Jodhpur Durbar was

¶ Rajputana Gazetteer, Vol. III-A, page 70. Treaties, Engagements and Sanads, Vol. III, pages 114 and 126-127

not to pay any tribute to the Company and he was to be treated as a friend, not subjected to any subordination\$. The Maharaja, too, at that time was placed in a very precarious position because the birth of a posthumous son (by name Dhonkal Singh) to the late Maharaja Bhim Singh had created a stir in Marwar and the Jagirdars under the leadership of Sawai Singh were thinking to support his claims to the throne against Man Singh†. Had there been a less courageous man, he would have considered such an alliance a boon in disguise and tried to secure his territories at any cost. But Maharaja Man Singh cared more for his patriotic sentiments than the favourable terms of the treaty and considered it more honourable an obligation to stand by Jaswant Rao Holker than to side with the British. Looking to the troubles, arising around him, and the very infancy of his political career, Man Singh's refusal to ratify the treaty cannot be attributed to any other consideration than his anti-British inclination and patriotic sentiments.

*Man Singh gave shelter to Holker's family.*

Having been defeated by the British at Deeg, Yashwant Rao Holker came to Rajputana and encamped at Haarmara‡ (a village in Ajmer). Man Singh advanced his help to him and agreed to give shelter to his family so that he could proceed to Malwa with a view to make preparations against the British||. A sort of brotherhood was established between the two and Yashwant Rao's position was strengthened§. This help of Man Singh to the anti-British Holker has been very much praised by Kavi Raja Banki Das in

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\$ Ojha, History of Jodhpur, Vol. II, page 780.

† Jodhpur-ki-Khyat, Vol. IV, page 14 ; Veer Vinod, Vol. 2, page 861 ; Dayal Das-ki-Khyat, Vol. 2, Folio 97.

‡ Jodhpur Raj-ki-Khyat, Vol. IV, page 14.

|| Veer Vinod, Vol. II, page 861.

§ Jodhpur Raj-ki-Khyat Vol. IV, page 14.

his famous bardic poem on Man Singh wherein he has compared Man Singh to Tripurari Bhagwan Shanker¶. Yashwant Rao considered it a very great act of patriotism and remained so grateful to Man Singh that he personally came to help him in his clash against Jagat Singh of Jaipur later on in 1806\$. At a time when his own house was not in order and the British East India Company was offering very favourable terms, the anti-British inclinations and the national ferment of Man Singh alone could have induced him to put his entire kingdom at stake and give shelter to the family of Yashwant Rao Holker. The significance of this particular act of assistance has been considered of a very high order because this could enable Holker to proceed to Malwa and strengthen his position with the help of Sindhia.

*Jodhpur's Treaty Alliance with the British.*

In 1814 Amir Khan Pindari got Man Singh's Diwan, Inderraj, and his spiritual director Deonath, murdered‡. This outrage so terrified the Maharaja that he pretended insanity and, after abandoning all power to the Naths, became a recluse‡. Chhatar Singh, the only son of Man Singh, assumed the regency||. It was at this time, when Man Singh had nothing to do with the administration of the State and was, for all practical purposes, absolutely out of picture, that the British Government opened negotiations with Kr. Chhatar Singh on the eve of the Pindari War, and a treaty was concluded in January 1818, by which the State was taken under protection and the Jodhpur ruler agreed to

¶ Bardic poem by Kavi Raja Banki Das.

\$ Jodhpur Raj-ki-Khyat, Vol. IV, pages 861-62.

† Jodhpur Raj-ki-Khyat, Vol. IV, pages 70-74; Veer Vinod, Vol. 2, page 865; Tod Rajasthan, Vol. II, page 1091.

‡ Rajputana Gazetteer, Vol. III-A, page 71.

|| Jodhpur Raj-ki-Khyat, Vol. IV, pages 75-78; Veer Vinod, Vol. 2, page 860.

pay an annual tribute of Rs. 1,08,000 and to furnish, when required, a contingent of 1500 horse and the whole of its army, except such portion as might be required for the internal administration of the country§. Chhatar Singh and his followers were very much disliked by Man Singh and he had agreed to Chhatar Singh's accession much against his wishes¶. Chhatar Singh, too, had no faith in the Naths, the spiritual directors of Man Singh and received his religious guidance from the Goswamies of Chopasani§. Naturally, therefore, the pro-British attitude of Chhatra Singh and his followers alone had been responsible for the treaty alliance with the British East India Company and Man Singh had no hand in it. It is an irony of fate that the Jodhpur State under Chhatra Singh was, rather, eager to accept much more humiliating terms than those which had previously been kicked by Maharaja Man Singh. This alone explains the anti-British attitude of Man Singh and helps up in understanding Man Singh's unwillingness later on to fulfil all these treaty obligations. Man Singh was unwilling to take over the administration of the State into his hands in 1818 when, after the death of Chhatra Singh, he was approached on behalf of the Company by Munshi Barkatali†. He agreed to look after the administrative work and assume full control of the Government only after an assurance was given to him that the British East India Company will not interfere in the internal affairs of the State‡. He even

§ Treaties, Engagements and Sanads, Vol. 3, pages 128-30; Jodhpur Raj-ki-Khyat, Vol. IV, pages 82-84; Veer Vinod Vol. 2, pages 888-891.

¶ Veer Vinod, Vol. II, page 866; Jodhpur Raj-ki-Khyat Vol. IV, pages 75-78; Tod Rajasthan, Vol. II, page 826.

§ Veer Vinod.

†According to Tod Rajasthan, Vol. IV, page 1093, the person sent to Man Singh, was Mr. Wilder while the Khyats and vernacular histories mention Barkat Ali.

‡ Marwar-ka-Itihas by Ren, Vol. II, page 422, with reference to a mention of Kharita from the British Government to this effect.

refused to seek military assistance from the Company||. His subsequent relations with the British Government clearly show that he was more in favour of ignoring the clauses of the treaty than upholding them. In 1823 when the A.G.G. (Mr. F. Wilder) interfered in the affairs of the State and asked the Maharaja to restore the confiscated estates, he pointed out in clear out terms to the A.G.G. that the confiscated estates can be restored only if the nobles in question obey him instead of seeking help from the British. The A.G.G. gave an assurance that there will be no interference from the British Government in future in the internal affairs of the State§.

*Man Singh's interference in Sirohi.*

Man Singh's relations with the British became all the more embittered because of his interference in the affairs of Sirohi. His claim over Sirohi was rejected by Tod and the Sirohi State entered into subsidiary alliance with the British in 1823 much against the wishes of Man Singh. Man Singh, therefore, ordered his Hakim of Jalore (Prithvi Raj Bhandari) to invade the villages of Kharal Pargana of Sirohi and, in compliance with these orders of Man Singh, his Hakim laid waste 10 villages of Sirohi and put the Sirohi people to a loss of Rs. 3100/-. The claim, when submitted to the British Government, was decided in favour of Sirohi¶.

*Man Singh gives shelter to Appa Sahib of Nagpur.*

The bitterness, existing between Man Singh and the British Government reached its climax, when in 1827, Appa Sahib of Nagpur was warmly received and given shelter at

|| Tod Rajasthan, Vol. II, page 1093.

§ Treaties, Engagements and Sanads, Vol. III, pages 103-131.

¶ Ojha, History of Sirohi State, pages 283-291.

Jodhpur by Man Singh\$. Appa Sahib had been dethroned, arrested and suspected by the British and after his escape from British custody, strenuous efforts were made to imprison him again. But he went first to Lahore and then wandered for a number of years in the Himalyan mountains. Ultimately he reached Jodhpur in a very miserable condition and sought Man Singh's help and shelter†. Man Singh gave him a warm reception and provided him with every possible facility. He was to live in Maha Mandir and necessary arrangements for his safety had been made. In his enthusiasm to receive Appa Sahib warmly and affectionately, Man Singh addressed a poem to Appa Sahib giving him a definite assurance that he would see that Appa Sahib lives at Jodhpur peacefully and happily. He went to the extent of saying that just as Sagar had given shelter to Mainak (Himalaya's son), Man Singh too would protect Appa Sahib at any cost‡. This enthusiasm of Man Singh shows his anti-British inclinations. Appa Sahib could not receive shelter in any part of India and had come to Jodhpur after his wanderings of about 10 years. The British Government was very keen to arrest him. It must be said to the credit of Man Singh that he refused point blank to hand Appa Sahib over to the British even when they threatened him openly and Appa Sahib lived in Maha

§ Appa Sahib (Madhu Raj Dev) ascended the throne of Nagpur after the death of Parsoji. He entered into a treaty alliance with the British in 1817 but his help to the Peshwa against the British was responsible for military action, taken against him by the British and he had to surrender a major portion of his kingdom to the British. He was suspected of intrigue against the British and was arrested. He anyhow escaped, and having failed in his efforts to reoccupy Nagpur, came to Jodhpur and sought Man Singh's shelter. (Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. 18, pages 307-8; Veer Vinod, Vol. 1).

† Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. 18, page 307-8; Prayag Dutt Shukla, Madhya Pradesh-ka-Itihas and Nagpur-ke-Bhonsle; Ojha, Udaipur Raj-ka-Itihas, Vol. 2, page 1083.

‡ A poem composed by Man Singh.

Mandir at Jodhpur till his death§. This attitude of Man Singh infuriated the British Government and he was to bear the brunt of British force soon.

*Hostile attitude of the British.*

"In 1827 some of the nobles again rebelled and, putting the pretender, Dhonkal Singh, at their head, collected a considerable body of men in Jaipur territory and prepared to invade Jodhpur. On this, Man Singh urged upon the British Government that the time had arrived when he was entitled to the aid of their troops to support him on the gaddi, and that the attack by which he was threatened was not an internal insurrection but a foreign invasion emanating from and supported by Jaipur¶". The reply which Man Singh received clearly indicated that the British Government was extremely displeased with him and their attitude was that of hostility and not of friendship. It was a censor note on the behaviour, policy and administrative ability of Man Singh. The text of the reply ran, "If insurrection should be so general as to indicate the desire of chiefs and subjects for the downfall of the prince, there does not exist any reason for our forcing on the State of Jodhpur a sovereign whose conduct has totally deprived him of the support and allegiance of his people. Against unjust usurpation, or against wanton but too powerful rebellion, the princes of protected states may fairly perhaps call on us for assistance but not against universal disaffection and insurrection, caused by their own injustice, incapacity and misrule. Princes are expected to have the power of controlling their own subjects, and if they drive them into

§ Jodhpur Raj-ki-Khyat, Vol. IV, page 104; Prayag Dutt Shukla, Madhya Pradesh-ka-Itihas and Nagpur-ke-Bhonsle, page 172; Veer Vinod, Vol. 2, page 896.

¶ Rajputana Gazetteer, Vol. III-A, page 72.



rebellion, they must take the consequences"§. It is, however, true that the British addressed strong remonstrances to the ruler of Jaipur for having allowed an armed confederacy to be formed against Jodhpur within its territory and Dhonkal Singh was required to withdraw from the confederacy, and the nobles settled their differences among themselves. The rulers of the neighbouring states were asked not to allow Dhonkal Singh to enter their states†.

*Man Singh refuses to attend the Ajmer Durbar.*

In 1831 Lord William Bentinck came to Ajmer and he invited the ruling princes of Rajputana to come to Ajmer and attend his Durbar. The Durbar was attended by the rulers of Udaipur, Jaipur, Bharatpur, Kotah, Bundi etc. but Man Singh had the courage to absent himself. Man Singh's refusal to attend the Durbar infuriated the British Government but no open indication of this resentment was made‡. But the incident won for Man Singh unheard of applause from the bards who considered it an achievement of a very great national importance. The Bardic poems go to reveal that the refusal of Man Singh to attend the Ajmer Durbar meant a sort of assertion for independence and the popular interpretation to this affair made Man Singh appear a national hero||. The praise, lavished by the bards on Man Singh for this act of boldness, may not be of much use to sober history but it undoubtedly points out the anti-British trend of the public opinion and the contempt in which the British were being held by the people.

§ Rajputana Gazetteer, Vol. III-A, page 72.

† Dayal Das-ki-Khyat, Vol. II, Folio 114.

‡ Jodhpur Raj-ki-Khyat, Vol. IV, pages 108-9.

|| Bardic poems by Chainji of Parloo.

*Charge sheet prepared by the British against Man Singh.*

The accumulated effect of all these anti-British activities of Man Singh was that the British Government started contemplating military action to be taken against Man Singh. In a despatch of May 15, 1834, C.E. Trevelyan, Deputy Secretary to the Government of India communicated to the A.G.G., the views of the Government regarding its relationship with Jodhpur. According to him the British supremacy had been insulted a number of times by the Jodhpur State§. Maharaja Man Singh had attacked three weaker States Jaisalmer, Kishengarh and Sirohi and when asked by British Government, the Maharaja said that he had to obtain redress to certain grievances from these states¶. This plea of the Maharaja was considered by Mr. Trevelyan as a lame excuse because in accordance with the terms of the treaty, the Maharaja ought to have applied to the British Government to procure redress for him, if he had been wronged by any of his neighbours. He had no right to seek redress himself†. By not even informing the British Government of his intentions of attacking the neighbouring states, he rendered himself insensible to the treaty obligations\$. Secondly, Mr. Trevelyan wrote that the relation between the British Government and Man Singh deteriorated over the question of Thugs\*. In order to check the Thug menace the British Government made Saugar the Headquarters of the organisation to deal with the Thugs all over India and regular parties were sent out to chase and destroy them‡.

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§ File No. 5—Jodhpur, Vol. I, 1834, Residency Records, National Archives, New Delhi.

¶ File No. 5—Jodhpur, Vol. I, 1834, Residency Records, National Archives, New Delhi.

† Ibid.

\$ Ibid.

\* File No. 5—Jodhpur, Vol. I, 1834, Residency Records, National Archives, New Delhi.

‡ Ibid.

The Thugs then began to find shelter in the outlying areas and one such party located a gang of Thugs at the village Alaniyas near Ajmer. But the Thakur of that village not only refused to comply with the request of the British Government but even insulted the party||. Mr. Trevelyan further pointed out that the local authorities of Sambhar (then under Jodhpur) also refused to hand over the Thugs, and Man Singh after a short period publicly conferred a 'Khillat' on the Amil of Sambhar§. According to Mr. Trevelyan, another freebooter Apji took shelter in Ghanarao (in the Jodhpur State) and was located by Captain Boorthhock¶. A letter was sent by the Governor-General from Ajmer to Man Singh asking him to direct the Thakur of Ghanarao to secure the outlaw, but the Thakur allowed the outlaw to escape†. When the British Government asked Man Singh to punish the Thakur, he wrote that he had confiscated the jagir of the Thakur, but on Col. Spir's enquiry it was found to be false\$. When further pressed by the British Government, Man Singh in his two letters dated the 19th December, 1833 and the 2nd January, 1834 said that he had the right to afford shelter to refugees. If it was so, the whole plan against the Thugs, according to Mr. Trevelyan, was to fail‡. It was further pointed out that shortly after, the house of Dr. Mottley, Civil Surgeon of Ajmer was attacked one night and looted; Dr. Mottley, however, escaped. The looters were recognised, next day

|| File No. 5—Jodhpur, Vol. I, 1834, Residency Records, National Archives, New Delhi.

§ Ibid.

¶ Ibid.

† Ibid.

\$ Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

by investigation, to be the residents of Jodhpur. When Man Singh was addressed, he disowned the offenders being his subjects||.

Mr. Trevelyan further added that in accordance with Article 8 of the Treaty, Man Singh was asked to furnish an Auxiliary force, to put down 'Parkar Freebooters'. First he delayed in doing so, and when he did supply a force, it was found on an attack upon the freebooters that the freebooters were on good terms with his force as they took shelter in the Jodhpur Legion, when pressed hard\*. Similarly, the contingent of 1500 supplied by Jodhpur against the Shekhawati freebooters to the British Government was found to be deficient in men and material§.

The last but not the least important charge against Man Singh was that he insulted the Governor-General, by not sending a reply to him of his letter of admonition regarding Man Singh's line of conduct in fulfilling the treaty obligations¶. He merely offered different excuses for the delay and allowed a year to pass. It was later suspected that he objected to the 'revised form of address to the Governor-General'†.

The above complaints against Man Singh clearly reveal that the resentment, shown by the British Government, over the anti-British activities of Man Singh, was mainly due to Man Singh's reluctance to abide by the restrictions imposed upon him and honour the terms of a treaty, signed by his son at a time when he was absolutely helpless.

|| File No. 5—Jodhpur, Vol. I, 1834, Residency Records, National Archives, New Delhi.

\* Ibid.

§ Ibid.

¶ Ibid.

† Ibid.

*Action suggested against Man Singh.*

Mr. Trevelyan in his despatch of May 15, 1834, observed that a war was necessary because there was every possibility of an example being set for others\$. He also pointed out that the Governor-General wanted peaceful methods to be tried first and hence a letter of instructions was sent to the A.G.G. to find a solution by peaceful methods‡. Maharaja Man Singh was to be asked and even threatened, if necessary, to pay damages to the three states and to Dr. Mottley||. As regards the Thugs, either he was to accept the plan of the British Government or he was to suggest some other plan of his own\*. According to the instructions of the Governor-General, the A.G.G. was to prepare a list of complaints, which were to be presented to the Maharaja as a basis of an ultimatum, if he refused to accept British Government's demands§.

*Ultimatum sent to Man Singh.*

On the 14th August a document was submitted to Man Singh, in which all the previous topics were narrated and responsibility was put on him¶. Not merely satisfied with this, the Governor-General, conscious of the fact that 'the character and disposition of Man Singh afford but little hope that he will yield without compulsory measures', ordered the A.G.G. to keep his troops ready to march down upon Jodhpur†. When the troops were ready to march

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\$ File No. 5—Jodhpur, Vol. I, 1834, Residency Records, National Archives, New Delhi.

‡ Ibid.

|| Ibid.

\* Ibid.

§ Ibid.

¶ File No. 5—Jodhpur, Vol. II, 1834, Residency Records, National Archives, New Delhi.

† Ibid.

down upon Jodhpur from Ajmer, another ultimatum was to be sent to Man Singh with two additional demands *viz.*, (1) that he will defray all expenses incurred in assembling the troops, (2) that in pursuance of the 8th article of the treaty, he shall furnish 1500 soldiers\$. A time of 48 hours was to be given to him, and if he did not accept the terms, he would have to abdicate†. On 9th September, 1834, the A.G.G. wrote to the Government of India that his negotiations had failed and a military action was, therefore, necessary||.

But the Khyat of Jodhpur does not make a mention of any such military action. According to it, the Jodhpur court had not been replying to the letters of the British Government for a long time and the Political Agent was, therefore, awfully infuriated. With a view to pacify the Political Agent, the Maharaja sent Singhvi Fouj Raj, Bhandari Laxmi Chand, Joshi Sambhu Dutt, Singhvi Kushal Raj and Dhandal Kesar on September 16, 1834 to Ajmer. Thakur Ranjit Singh of Kuchaman also proceeded to Ajmer under instructions from Man Singh. The Khyat further points out that all these persons were told by the Agent that the Maharaja of Jodhpur has annoyed the Government of India by not attending the Ajmer Durbar, not replying to the letters of the Agent, giving shelter to Appa Sahib of Nagpur etc. They tried their best to pacify the Agent and gave him a definite assurance that such things will not be repeated in future. As regards the arrears of tribute and the expenses concerning the army arrangements, they agreed to pay Rupees five lakhs and the income of Sambhar and Nava was to be collected by the British in future

§ File No. 5—Jodhpur, Vol. II, 1834, Residency Records, National Archives, New Delhi.

† Ibid.

|| Ibid.

in lieu for the above arrears. There is also a mention in the Khyat that Maharaja Man Singh was not happy over this settlement and when he came to know the full details, he did not relish them§.

The letter of instructions from the Governor-General to the A.G.G. clearly reveals the apprehensions, the Government of India had, about the attitude of Man Singh in the event of a military action being taken against him and that is why military preparations were made. The expedition was averted partly because the Governor-General himself was in favour of peaceful methods, as pointed out in the letter of instructions and partly because Man Singh's position was precarious due to internal anarchy and as such he was not in a position to put up a strong fight. But the settlement, arrived at, was not to his liking and the attitude of hostility towards the British was in no way modified.

#### *Military action taken against Man Singh.*

In 1835 the Jodhpur Government was asked to make an annual payment of Rs. 1,15,000 towards the Jodhpur Legion (which was then raised) in lieu for the contingent of 1500 horses¶ and in 1839 a military expedition was undertaken against Man Singh†. The Military expedition had been taken as a result of certain very important considerations. The British Government had, however, put forward a plea justifying their action and Man Singh was accused of having failed to govern his State properly. According to them the mis-government of Man Singh, the ascendancy of the Naths, and the consequent disaffection and insurrection

§ Jodhpur Raj-ki-Khyat, Vol. IV, pages 111-112.

¶ Rajputana Gazetteer, Vol. III-A, page 72; Jodhpur Raj-ki-Khyat, Vol. IV, page 113; Ojha, Sirohi Raj-ka-Itihas, pages 56-57.

† Rajputana Gazetteer, Vol. III-A, page 72; Jodhpur Raj-ki-Khyat, Vol. IV, pages 116-118.

reached such a pitch that the British Government was compelled to interfere\$. There cannot, however, be any denying of the fact that there was some dissatisfaction in Jodhpur against the merciless torture meted out by Man Singh to his opponents, and the high-handedness of the Naths. It is also true that a number of jagirdars had approached the Political Agent at Ajmer to intervene. But as a matter of fact all these considerations go to constitute the occasion rather than the cause of the military action, taken against the Maharaja. Really speaking, the British officers were chafing under the insult, meted out to them so many times by Man Singh and they felt as if all the remonstrances and serious admonitions, constantly and persistently urged on the court of Jodhpur were cast aside. Man Singh's refusal to attend the Ajmer Durbar, the assertion of his right to give protection to refugees, the shelter given by him to Appa Sahib, the indifference with which he kept mum over letters of serious admonition, the resentment shown by him over the settlement of 1834 and the unusual delay made by him, in the payment of tribute to the Company were the real factors, responsible for the hostility of the British towards the Jodhpur Durbar. His refusal\* to take action against the anti-British Jagirdars of Malani, who had all along been striving after the maintenance of their independent status, further irritated the British, who interpreted this reluctance on the part of the Jodhpur ruler, in the light of past experience, as an act of extreme disloyalty. To add fuel to fire, Man Singh did not give any assistance to the British later on even when they sent their own army against the anti-British jagirdars of Malani†.

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\$ Rajputana Gazetteer, Vol. III-A, page 72.

\* Ojha, Jodhpur Raj-ka-Itihas, page 851.

† Major Malcom's Report; History of Jodhpur, Vol. II, page 851; Ojha is not inclined to believe Jodhpur Raj-ki-Khyat, according to which help was given.



Above all, Man Singh went one step further to annoy the British by putting forth a claim over the Malani Pargana, when it had been occupied by the British||.

The British Political Agent, Colonel Sutherland, issued a general circular and made a declaration that since Maharaja Man Singh has failed to look after the affairs of the State properly and since there had been so much of dissatisfaction against him in Marwar, he was coming to Jodhpur with a view to make suitable arrangements concerning public administration in the interest of the people. He also made it clear that it will be a war between Man Singh and the British and the subjects and citizens of the State will not be harmed in any way\*.

Colonel Sutherland, it seems, also tried to sound the jagirdars of Jodhpur and he asked one Shakti Dan Bhati, who was the leader of the chiefs belonging to the anti-Man Singh group, as to what would be the attitude of the Jagirdars in case a war is declared against Man Singh. The reply, which Shakti Dan gave, clearly shows that though they all wanted certain reforms to be introduced and their jagirs to be restored, they were not in favour of any harm being done to Man Singh and he declared in a bold and emphatic tone that in the event of a war between the British and Man Singh, they will side with Man Singh and not with the British‡. It proves beyond any doubt that even the anti-Man Singh jagirdars, who had approached the Agent to intervene, were not in favour of any military action, to be taken against him and their loyalty towards their chief remained untarnished.

|| Major Malcolm's Report of 1849; Rajputana Gazetteer, Vol. 2, pages 266-267.

\* Veer Vinod, Vol. 2, pages 871-872.

‡ Marwar-ka-Itihas, by Reu, Vol. II, page 432; Jodhpur Raj-ki-Khyat, Vol. IV, page 120; Ojha, Jodhpur Raj-ka-Itihas, Vol. IV, page 858.

There is another evidence to prove that the military action was taken not with a view either to introduce reforms in Marwar or to regularize the payment of tribute but to re-establish the British prestige and, if possible, to annihilate completely the power of Man Singh. When Man Singh came to know of this expedition, he wrote a letter to the British Agent on the 8th August, 1839 explaining the entire position and giving a definite assurance that he is favourably inclined towards the British. He even went to the extent of saying that he is prepared to lay down the reins of the Government, if the British so desire. He tried to remove the misunderstanding and misconceptions. He pointed out that the jagirdars had made it impossible for him to introduce the desired reforms and pay the tribute regularly. In the end he repeated that there was no necessity of an expedition to be taken against him, since he himself was prepared to hand over his State to the British\*. Even such a mild letter did not satisfy Colonel Sutherland and he invaded the Jodhpur State from three sides.

The circumstances of the case reveal that the British were very eager to make the ruler and the people of Marwar feel the weight of British arms. They, perhaps, believed in a display of their military strength. The Maharaja was too shrewd to fall in their trap. He agreed to whatever reasonable or unreasonable terms were proposed by Colonel Sutherland. He handed over the Jodhpur fort. He agreed to allow the British troops to be stationed in the fort and even tolerated the appointment at his capital of a British Agent and whatever terms, Colonel Sutherland imposed upon him. He knew that his own house was not in order, there

\* Ojha, Jodhpur Raj-ka-Itihas, Vol. II, page 859, footnote on page 859 gives further details about the letter.

was division in his camp and Marwar was on the verge of an anarchy. The only alternative open to him was to save what little, he possibly could under the prevailing circumstances, and, try for the rest later on. The terms of the agreement, signed between Man Singh and Colonel Sutherland, show the miserable plight to which Man Singh had been reduced. According to the agreement, all rules and regulations were to be framed by a council consisting of the Maharaja, Colonel Sutherland, Sardars of Marwar, Officials, Khavas, Paswans etc. and they were to be executed by the Political Agent and the officials of the Maharaja in consultation with him. Though the Jodhpur fort did not contain barracks fit to be used by the army, the Maharaja had to agree to allow the Jodhpur fort to be used as a military station for the British. There was, however, a specific clause stating that tyranny or oppression shall not be suffered towards any person; no interference shall be exercised in regard to the six sects of religionists; and there shall be no destruction of life among the animals held sacred in Marwar¶. This engagement was a personal one and ceased with Man Singh's death on September 1843§.

The subsequent correspondence, conducted between the Maharaja and Ludlow, the British Political Agent, posted at Jodhpur, reveals that the arrangements, evolved under the above agreement, did not function smoothly and ended ultimately in a complete break-down.

*Resident's resentment over Man Singh's attitude of non-cooperation.*

It was only with a heavy heart that Man Singh had agreed to allow Colonel Sutherland to have his way and

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¶ Jodhpur Raj-ki-Khyat, Vol. IV, pages 120-28; Veer Vinod, Vol. 2, pages 871-72, and 876-78. Treaties, Engagements and Sanads, Vol. III, pages 116 and 135-37.

§ Ibid.

impose upon him an agreement, which signified a complete surrender on the part of the Jodhpur Durbar. That this surrender was not approved by Man Singh's officials is an established fact of history. Man Singh's Kiledar Madho Singh, refused to vacate the Jodhpur fort and the Jodhpur Durbar had to prevail upon him by personally going to the fort\$ and persuading his followers to hand the fort over to the British†. So great was the popular resentment, shown over the surrender made by Man Singh that Rathore Bhimji even tried to attack Ludlow, when he was entering the fort and actually succeeded in wounding him||.

Man Singh, too, took this defeat to his heart and started defying British orders immediately after it. The various kharitas, addressed to Maharaja Man Singh by Ludlow, the British Political Agent, go to reveal that Man Singh never paid any heed to the instructions, communicated to him by the British and his officials never cooperated with the Resident. In his letter of June 12, 1840, Ludlow pointed out to Man Singh that it was not proper on his part to have allowed Jasrup and Rawat Mal (Nath Sadhus), who were being supposed to have been interfering in the internal affairs of the State and poisoning the ears of Man Singh against the British Government, to come to Jodhpur. They had been asked by the British Government to go out of the skirts of Marwar, but Man Singh's encouragement made the above mentioned Sadhus to visit Jodhpur regularly. The letter shows that even Man Singh was suspected of having helped these Sadhus. The threatening tone of the letter reveals that the Resident did not feel

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\$ Ojha, Jodhpur Raj-ka-Itihas, Vol. III, page 861.

† Ibid.

|| Ojha, Jodhpur Raj-ka-Itihas, Vol II, page 861.

inclined to pay any visit to the fort, under those circumstances, and was not prepared even to allow Man Singh's Vakeel to live in his camp at Sur Sagar. Ludlow further pointed out to Man Singh that if his anti-British attitude remained unchanged, some drastic action would have to be taken against him†.

Ludlow further added, in his letter of June 21, 1840, that the case of Jasrup and the defiance, shown by the Jodhpur court, had been referred by the A.G.G. to the Governor-General of India¶. Through his Kharita of July 9, 1840, he strongly protested against the interference of the Naths in State-affairs and their influence over Man Singh. He even objected to the apathetic indifference shown by the Maharaja and referred to various irregularities such as the replacement of corrupt officers with another set of corrupt hands, the reluctance of the jagirdars to send armed contingents to the protecting power, irregular payment of salaries to the guards, delay in Jogeshwar's case, non-compliance of the instruction from the British Government, and undue delay in taking action against persons who were instrumental in bringing about the death of three soldiers belonging to the British troops§. These threats show the extent to which the British Agent was interfering in the affairs of the State and also the reluctance of the Maharaja to comply with his instructions.

The British Agent further insisted (through his letter of December 27, 1840), upon the maintenance of accounts in a proper way with special reference to the details of receipt and expenditure. Referring to various clauses of

† Ludlow's Kharita of 12-6-1840, Bahi No. 13, pages 423, Dastari Records, Jodhpur.

¶ Ludlow's Kharita of 21-6-1840, Bahi No. 13, pages 423, Dastari Records, Jodhpur.

§ Ludlow's Kharita of 9-7-1840, Bahi No. 13, pages 423-24, Dastari Records, Jodhpur.

the agreement, he strongly protested against the frequent approaches being made by the Naths to Man Singh, the irregularities of the Thakurs of Pokaran and Asop and also the unusual delay in recovering the debt, advanced to Meetha Lal\$. The minute details of administration to which a reference had been made in this letter go to reveal the over enthusiasm of the Resident to interfere in the internal administration of the State.

Ludlow, then, remonstrated against the arrival of Jasrup and Lexmi Nath at Nanavada with a band of 50 persons and their visit to the Thakur of Pokaran. This kind of movement made him suspect the Maharaja to be in league with these people and his reference to the displeasure of the A.G.G. over the state of affairs confirms the view that Man Singh was being suspected of having encouraged the anti-British elements in Marwar.

The resident conveyed his displeasure over the state of affairs in Jodhpur by refusing to come to the fort so long as the State administration remained in the hands of the Naths. He further insisted upon the administration to be handed over to the Karundas. He also pointed out that the existing affairs could not be tolerated any longer and the Maharaja alone would be responsible for the consequences of such an unreasonable attitude towards the British Authorities. The resentment of the British seems to have reached its culmination by the 17th January, 1841 when the Resident insisted upon the Maharaja to have a new religious

\$ Ludlow's Kharita of 27-12-1840, Bahi No. 13, pages 424-425, Dastari Records, Jodhpur.

† Ludlow's Kharita of 26-12-1840, Bahi No. 13, pages 425-26, Dastari Records, Jodhpur.

‡ Ludlow's Kharita of 7-1-1841, Bahi No. 13, page 426, Dastari Records, Jodhpur.

§ Ludlow's Kharita of 6th of the dark-half of Magh V.S. 1897, Bahi No. 13, pages 426-427, Dastari Records, Jodhpur.

director in place of Lakshmi Nath and told him not to proceed beyond Banad. The Resident emphasised on January 18, 1841 that the Maharaja should disassociate himself completely from Lakshmi Nath and pointed out that even the A.G.G. did not approve of his intimacy with the Nath Sadhus.

The fury of the British Government was further revealed on March 3, 1841, when the Resident drew the attention of the Maharaja to the case of certain Marwaris, who had been imprisoned. He stated that the Vakeel did not care to give details of the case and denied to take action without Man Singh's order. The attitude of Man Singh and his Vakeel were considered highly objectionable and it was further pointed out that the A.G.G. was not likely to approve of such activities. The Resident seems to have been completely upset by the lack of cooperation, shown by the Maharaja and his officials. On April 16, 1841 he expressed the necessity of appointing a Naib Vakeel with necessary staff, consisting of reliable Mussaddis and Harkarass.

#### *Break-Down.*

The situation further deteriorated when Man Singh's reply, supporting the Naths, was considered by the British highly objectionable and the Resident found fault with the Maharaja and his Diwan, who were not complying with his orders. He even threatened Man Singh that a report will

¶ Ludlow's Kharita of 17-1-41, Bahi No. 13, page 427, Dastari Records, 1841.

§ Ludlow's Kharita of 18-1-41, Bahi No. 13, page 427, Dastari Records, Jodhpur.

† Ludlow's Kharita of 30-3-1841, Bahi No. 13, pages 427-28, Dastari Records, Jodhpur.

§ Ludlow's Kharita of 16-4-1841, Bahi No. 13, pages 427-28, Dastari Records, Jodhpur.

¶ Ludlow's Kharita of 20-4-1841, Bahi No. 13, page 430, Dastari Records, Jodhpur.

have to be made to the A.G.G. against him†. So annoyed the Resident seemed to have been that he refused to go to Maha Mandir even on being invited by Man Singh¶. He further told the Maharaja that the clerks of the State get bonds executed on behalf of the jagirdars in such a manner that it becomes difficult to punish or imprison them. These threats and remonstrations did not have any influence over Man Singh and he maintained an attitude of supreme indifference towards the British authorities. Colonel Sutherland himself paid a visit to Jodhpur and tried to prevail upon the Maharaja but the situation remained unchanged. The main problem was connected with the Naths whom the Maharaja respected and against whom, he was not prepared to take any action. The final breakdown was staged when Ludlow got two Nath Sadhus arrested with the help of British troops and sent them to Ajmer§. The Maharaja felt very much infuriated and wanted to lodge a protest against this action of the Resident, but, on being prevailed upon by his officers, gave up the idea and ceased to take any interest in the affairs of the Government†. He was even prepared to put up a fight and asked Jodha Pratap Singh to proceed to Ajmer and get the Sadhus released. His chiefs and ministers persuaded him to refrain from taking any drastic action and ultimately he got disgusted and became a Sanyasi. In this condition of remorse and disgust, Man Singh expired on 4th September, 1843.

† Ludlow's Kharita of 20-4-1841, Bahi No. 13, page 430, Dastari Records, Jodhpur.

¶ Ludlow's Kharita of 4-1-1841.

§ Jodhpur Raj-ki-Khyat, Vol. 4, pages 213-14; Veer Vinod, Vol. 2, pages 873-4.

† Jodhpur Raj-ki-Khyat, Vol. IV, page: 213-214; Veer Vinod, pages 873-874.



### *Conclusions.*

Thus disappeared a Rajput Veteran, being torn up by his own mental conflict and the pangs of self-mortification. The glowing tributes, paid to his intellect, penetrating glance, intelligence, courage, audacity and achievements in the field of art and architecture go to testify that he was gifted with a rare combination of virtues, rarely to be found in the princely order of those days. Besides being a very great patron of art and architecture, Man Singh left behind a very rich legacy in the form of important poetical works and treatises on topics of religious and social importance.

The charges of cruelty, deception, and duplicity, so frequently levelled against him, only show that the persons, with whom he had to deal, forced him, through their intrigues and machinations, to adopt these unfair means. It was a continuous struggle for existence and if he had not devoured his enemies, they might have devoured him. It is, however, true that he could not rise above the intriguing influence of his age and the means adopted by him to steer a course through the stormy waves of vicissitudes were in no way better than those which had been adopted against him.

He fought against the British a life long struggle and always resisted their interference in his state affairs. Being engaged in a life and death struggle with his own chiefs and the centrifugal tendencies in his state, he could not put up a strong fight against the British and was forced in the end to make a surrender. But up to the last moment he maintained his own against them and never allowed them to have their way. If his chiefs had stood at his back and the circumstances had been a bit favourable, he would have played more glorious a role. At a time when the proudest princes of Rajasthan were lying low and cringing at the feet of the British Agents, Man Singh alone had the courage to

kick their offer for a subsidiary alliance in 1804, give shelter to anti-British Holker and Appa Sahib of Nagpur and refuse to attend the Ajmer Durbar. Even after the complete collapse of his ascendancy, he resisted the British efforts to control the affairs of his state and in the evening of his life preferred the solitary life of a recluse to the disgraceful rôle of a puppet prince incapable of maintaining his own against the foreign enemies. He, too, could have surrendered his entire state administration to the British care and led a life of voluptuous ease as most of his contemporaries were doing but his conscience did not allow him to play a second fiddle.

It is very difficult and dangerous to correct the verdict of history but in the case of Man Singh the muse of history gave his verdict under the influence of a foreign rule. His anti-British inclinations and national aspirations could not be correctly evaluated by the court historians, and a thorough review in the light of his anti-British activities has now become an absolute necessity. His struggle was, in the first place, against the forces of feudal anarchy which had made the rulers of Rajasthan absolutely impotent. The tyranny and merciless torture, he meted out to the Jagirdars of Jodhpur, was perhaps a cruel necessity. His anti-British attitude was formulated by his national inclinations. His infatuation for the Naths, too, deserve a re-enquiry because it was based upon his deep rooted religious consciousness and a pledge which he had given long before he became the ruler of Jodhpur.

While admitting that it was undesirable on the part of Man Singh to allow the Naths to have so great an ascendancy over the state affairs, it cannot, however, be suggested that his stand against the British on the point of turning the Naths out of Jodhpur and appointing somebody else as his religious director was unwise. He resisted the British encroachment upon his personal liberty and when

he found that he had become so weak what the British troops could come to Jodhpur and arrest his religious directors, he considered it disgraceful to continue as a ruler and turned into a Sanyasi. That Man Singh had serious shortcomings, and had ultimately failed in his struggle against the British is a historical fact but his national aspirations and his audacity to resist the British penetration perhaps represent a greater truth.

The undue interference in the internal affairs of the State by the British reveals their hostile attitude towards Maharaja Man Singh. They had their own apprehensions about his anti-British inclinations and they had no confidence in him. They interfered so often not because there existed maladministration in Jodhpur but because Man Singh was more or less an eye-sore to them. Greater maladministration, inefficiency and corruption, prevailed in Jodhpur, in the reign of his successor Maharaja Takhat Singh, but his loyalty to the British Agents had so pacified them that the protecting power never thought it necessary to introduce reforms in Marwar.

**APPENDIX D**  
**DOCUMENTS AND SUMMARY NOTES**

**I**

FILE No. I—MUTINY VOL. IV 1857 GIVING  
TRANSLATION OF A PROCLAMATION ISSUED  
BY THE MUTINEERS FROM DEESA AND  
ADDRESSED TO THE PEOPLE OF  
MARWAR AND MEWAR, DATED  
13th SEPTEMBER, 1857

“Resaldar Abdool Alli, Abbas Alli Khan, Shaikh Mahomed Bux, and subedars, jamadars, and Hindoo and Musalman sepoys send their compliments to all the chiefs, Thakurs, princes and others, professing Hindoo and Mohammedan Religion. Be it known to you all, that we for the sake of religion, leaving service, were proceeding from Deesa to Delhi. As men of religion, we request that you will give us some aid. We about 3000 men in all are ready to die for our religion, and the Sirdars in Meywar and Marwar are on our side. Those who will give us aid for the sake of religion, will gain a reward in the heavens, and the king will consider them faithful and will honour them.”

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**II**

COPY OF THE AJMER DECLARATION OF LAWRENCE  
ON THE AUWA THAKUR AFFAIRS

*Proclamation*

*Dated Ajmer 6th January, 1858.*

The Thakoors of Awah, with other Thakoors of Marwar, having rebelled against their Maharaja and taken into

service the mutineers of the Joudhpore Legion and having opposed the British troops in the month of September last and caused the death of the late Political Agent, Captain M. Mason and of British soldiers, it is necessary that the British Government should visit the Thakoor of Awah and his confederates with condign punishment. A force has, therefore, been ordered to attack and destroy Awah.

Notice is hereby given that any person or persons aiding or harbouring the Thakoor of Awah, or others in rebellion, will be dealt with as enemies of the British Government and its ally the Maharajah of Joudhpore.

All who are taken as enemies in arms after this proclamation will be dealt with by Martial Law.

Sd/-

*Brigadier-General,  
Commanding the forces and Officiating Agent  
to the Governor-General for the States of  
Rajpootana.*

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### III

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF A LETTER FROM RAWAT  
RANJIT SINGH OF DEO GARH (MEWAR) TO  
MEHTA SHER SINGH, THE EX-MINISTER OF  
MEWAR STATE AT NEEMUCH, DATED THE  
13th DARK-HALF OF KARTIK, V.S. 1914.

(After usual salutations and compliments from Rawat Ranjit Singh to Mehta Sher Singh, posted at Neemuch cantonment, the text read) I have already communicated to you a number of facts through my previous despatches. On the 10th of the Dark-half of Kartik, the mutineers of Erin-pura, who had up-till now been staying at Auwa, have

marched towards the village Dudor. Quite a large number of Jagirdars belonging to Marwar are accompanying them. Samrathji is the fauj musahib of their army. They are in all 4000 persons. They are now thinking of proceeding towards Delhi with a view to obtain help from the King and then occupy Ajmer. Their real object is to create disturbance in Mewar and Marwar. The Chief of Auwa wrote a letter to the Saloomber Rawat and this letter was being carried by the Agent of the Auwa Chief, accompanied by 8 Sowars. At Kachhbaliya-Ri-Nal our Agents faced them. In the action that took place the Sowars were defeated and they took to their heels in the direction of Auwa. Two of them were, however, arrested. One of them was a Mhair who was handed over to the Tehsildar of Tatgarh and the other was a Goswami of Bheendar, who was searched. Certain papers were recovered from him and these papers have already been sent to you which will apprise you and the authorities concerned of the real situation. The Kharita sent along with the letters will throw further light on the subject. These letters should be interpreted in their different context. Samrathji had been making strenuous efforts for the last two years to bring about unity among the Jagirdars of Mewar and Marwar with a view to organize a conspiracy and raise the standard of rebellion against the British and both the princes (of Marwar and Mewar). We had not been able to procure any documentary evidence so far. Now the documentary evidence has been furnished and whatever necessary action you, in consultation with the British Agent and the Maharaja, deem proper to take may be contemplated. Because the notorious people will not abstain from notoriety, I think it proper to bring to your kind notice that the Maharaja should be apprised of the situation and the copies of the letters enclosed herewith may very kindly be shown to His Highness. I have explained

the entire situation to you and the necessary action may very kindly be taken in the light of your own reactions or the matter may be dropped, if you like. We have received a Kharita of the 3rd Dark-half from the Political Agent, Udaipur conveying the news regarding the victory of the British, reoccupation of Delhi and punishment meted out to the mutineers. It was celebrated in perfect eclat. Please send a detailed reply. My services are at your disposal. Any service for me. Dated this 13th day of the Dark-half of Kartik, V.S. 1914.

(The marginal space of the letter bears the signatures of Rawat Ranjit Singh along with the usual compliments and a personal request concerning the necessary action to be taken against the mutineers).

N.B.—A copy of this document was sent to me by Shri Nathu Lal Vyas who is in possession of the original.

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#### IV

#### CORRESPONDENCE INTERCEPTED BY CAPT. SHOWERS

(On 25th March, 1858, Capt. Showers—Officiating Political Agent, Mewar submitted a secret report No. 90 of 1858 to the A.G.G. Lawrence saying that the Rawat of Saloomber is seriously involved in a conspiracy with the Thakur of Auwa and also the enemies of the British Government and attached with his report, letters which were intercepted by him. He also mentioned in his report that there were "suspicious circumstances under which a party of irregular cavalry had arrived at Saloomber and that Capt. Showers had asked Kesari Singh—the Rawat of Saloomber to detain them, but the Rawat" neither complied with his instructions, nor endorsed his letter direct and allowed the party to escape).

I. The first intercepted letter bearing the date 10th October, 1857 from Khushal Singh of 'Auwa to Rao Kesari Singh of Saloomber reads as follows—

“I have received your letter.....I will soon be in your quarter. You will know further particulars from Madho Singh's letter”.

II. From Samrath Singh, Madho Singh and Radha Krishna to Rawat Kesari Singh of Saloomber.

“On 8th October, 1857 we arrived at Auwa..... This Fouj (Mutineers) leaves this tomorrow for Delhi as a.....Sawar came from Delhee inviting them immediately to repair to that place.....The following chiefs of this country are about to proceed to Delhee. Should they meet the force from Delhee on the road, they will join and return to attack Ajmer. If not, they will go to Delhee and represent their case to the King.

Thakoor Sheonath Singh of Asop.

Thakoor Bishen Singh of Gular.

Thakoor Ajeet Singh of Alaniyavas.

Thakoor Jodh Singh of Banjwas.

Thakoor Puhar Singh on the part of the Auwa Thakoor.

Thakoor Chand Singh of Sinali.

Thakoor Sukhat Singh of Sungara on the part of Saloomber”.

“the above named chiefs are going from Marwar,..... your letter has been received by the Thakoor wherein you say that even if the Mutineers do not take him with them, he should go and present the petition—draft of which you have sent—which we have here got translated into



Persian.....the Auwa Thakoor.....says he will be guided by your advice.

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<i>From</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Extract</i>
<hr/>		
III.		
Madho Singh and Radha Krishna of Saloomber to Nihal Chand Kam- dar of Kowaryea.	10th October, 1857.	"The Auwa Thakoor leaves this for Saloomber; will stop for a night at Kowaryea. Hold supplies in readiness. He has about 100 follo- wers with him".

## IV.

Samrath Singh to his nephew Koon- dun Singh and Kotharee Nath of Maneeawas.	11th October, 1857.	"I start for Delhi. The troops (Mutineers) leave this tonight—we will bring on a force of 25000 men from Delhi. We will go direct to Ajmer—The King of Delhi has obtained a victory."
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## V.

Samrath Singh to Jawanjee Khawas and Bhawany Shankar Puncholee from Auwa:	11th October, 1857.	"In my previous com- munication, I informed you that the troops (Mutineers) would halt here for ten days. This is not the case. They leave this tomorrow for Delhi....."
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VI. (On 8th August 1858, Captain Showers, again submitted to the A.G.G. Lawrence, a letter written by Nawab Rehmat Ali Khan—one of the leaders of the rebels, to Kesari Singh of Saloomber. This letter came in possession of Captain Showers through the courtesy of Mewar Durbar. The letter bears the date 26th July, 1858).

“Your letter..... has been received..... Although it was my intention to have proceeded towards Deccan but I will, out of friendship to you, halt for four days at Bheelwara. It is therefore proper that you should on receipt of this join me at this place, that in concert with you, measures may be adopted for the settlement of the affairs in Mewar. Make no delay in joining me. Khooshal Singh, Chief of Auwa, has joined our victorious army—invite this for your information—about 30000 are present—more will shortly follow”.

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V

EXTRACTS FROM THE LETTERS WRITTEN TO  
THAKUR KUSHAL SINGH OF AUWA

SECTION A

(Apart from the letters intercepted by Captain Showers; certain letters were found by the Marwar Fouj on the ground, occupied by the rebel Thakur of Awah after his expulsion from the Kurmal Nal; these letters were sent by Captain Brooke, Officiating Political Agent, Jodhpur, to Lawrence, Officiating A.G.G., vide his letter No. 45, dated 26th November, 1858. These letters do not clearly contain the name and address of the senders. They have been mutilated).

<i>From</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Extracts</i>
Jodh Singh of Kotharia (Mewar)	Approximately August, 1858.	"I have received your letter." "If you could not stay (where you are).....it will be much better if you try and get some mutineer sepoy and come here (Kotharia)".
Anonymous letter from Kotharia to Prithi Singh, brother of Auwa Thakur.		"A Hulkara has brought favourable news from the camp of mutineers. If you manage to join them with 400 or 500 horses, it is much better. Send the Thakur without delay. The mutineers have been joined by some 5 or 7 thousand fresh men, therefore, some measures should be soon taken by you".

## SECTION B

Extracts from letters sent by some rebellious friends of Thakur of Auwa to the Rawat of Saloomber. These letters were intercepted by the British Government.

<i>From</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Extracts</i>
Samudra Singh, Madho Singh, and Radha Krishana from Auwa.	9th October, 1857.	"A camel rider has arrived from Delhi; the news is that all the Europeans are killed and that we are to come quickly on

<i>From</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Extracts</i>
		which account we march tomorrow. Certain Sirdars are going to Delhi....and have an interview with the King. The list of Sirdars going to Delhi includes the name of Sheonath Singh—Thakur of Asop”.
Thakur of Auwa to Rawat of Saloom-ber.	10th October, 1857.	“Your letter has reached me....I shall start from Auwa in the middle of the night to come to you....I have sent all the influential people with the force which has left Auwa”.

(The above intercepted letters were sent by the A.G.G. Lawrence to the Governor-General-in-Council on 27th October, 1857).

## VI

### EXTRACTS FROM FOREIGN SECRET PROCEEDINGS.

*Foreign Secret Proceedings* 18, December, 1857, No. 202.

Translation of a letter from Maharaja Tukht Singh of Marwar to Colonel G. S. P. Lawrence, Officiating Governor-General's Agent for the States of Rajpootana and received by the Political Agent, Rajpootana and Political Agent, Jodhpoor, on the 22nd of May, 1857.

After Compliments,

I have just heard of the disturbances in the Hon'ble Company's territories, and that certain rebels, have collected and raised, the standard of insurrection at Delhie.

I am deeply grieved at this intelligence. The firm friendship that has always existed between the British power and this Government renders it imperative on me to come forward with offers of aid to the utmost of my means, without a moment's delay after the receipt of such unhappy tidings. I, therefore, hasten to assure you that this State is heart and soul ready to give assistance. You will not, I trust, hesitate to command me remembering that our interests are identical.

(True Translation)

Jodhpoor,  
The 26th of May, 1857.

Sd/- G. H. MONCK MASON,  
Political Agent, Jodhpoor.

N.B.—The letter of which the above is a translation was accompanied by a letter of similar purport addressed to me.

G. H. MONCK MASON,  
Political Agent.

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## VII

### EXTRACTS FROM FOREIGN SECRET PROCEEDINGS.

Translation of a letter addressed by Lieut. Monck Mason, Political Agent of Jodhpoor, to Maharaja Tukht Singh of Marwar on the 22nd of May, 1857, in reply to His Highness' letter of the same date offering aid to the British Government in emergency (p. 233).

After Compliments,

I have received with great satisfaction your Highness' letter which accompanied another addressed to the Officiating Governor-General's Agent for the States of Rajpootana

(a copy of which was furnished for my information) in which stating that you have heard of the insurrection in the Hon'ble Co.'s territory at Delhie and elsewhere, you heartily offer assistance to the utmost of your power.

Although the British Government has always known the Ruler of Marwar to be a faithful Ally I assure your Highness that your offer of aid at this juncture, made of your own accord, with much foresight, without irritation, immediately the tidings of rebellion reached you, will be held as a more than ordinary act of friendship. The Supreme Government will be much pleased by and grateful for this offer of assistance. Your letter under acknowledgement which conveyed it will be forwarded by today's post with an English report to the Officiating Governor-General's Agent.

I herewith send for your information an English notification by the Assam Government and a newspaper both received today. You will gather from them that the Mutineers in our Army and the insurrection in our territory, occurred in the Meerut and Delhie Districts, and that up to the present there are no tidings of disturbances at other places. One thing is certain however that from all quarters our European and Native Troops and auxiliaries from Gwalior and Rajwaras are conveying to oppose, apprehend and punish the insurgents. Troops are ready at Kumal, Meerut, Etawa, Agra and Gwalior, Bhurtpore, and other places, and it is hoped that the insurrection will be suppressed, but it is a critical time.

The Lieutenant Governor of the N.W. Provinces has called upon the friends of the British Government to assist in acting against the insurgents and preventing their escape.

I have today received from the Governor-General's Agent requisitions which I take this opportunity to communicate, trusting that as a friend you will comply as fully as possible with them.

They are—

1. That a mounted post be established by you between Beawar and Palee.

2. That a force consisting of Cavalry and Infantry be posted at some place on the frontier of Marwar as near as possible to Ajmer to act in case of emergency.

3. That a force composed of quotas furnished by Thakoors or other Troops be stationed on the frontier near Beawar.

In accordance with these requisitions I suggest that two or four Sowars be stationed every 10 miles between Beawar and Palee with instructions to convey to Palee any letter; or carry out any order that they may receive from the authorities at Beawar, Ajmer or Nusseerabad and vice versa; also to protect if necessary any Europeans who may travel by that route. There will be no difficulty in arranging such a post, as there must be Government Police Stations along the road, from which the Sowars can be detached. With reference to the second requisition viz. for Troops on the frontier near Ajmer, how fortunate it is that your Highness has a force in the field at Gular consisting of Artillery, Cavalry and Infantry and that the immediate object for which they were sent thither has been accomplished.

That force can be posted at Alaneeawas or Ladpoorah, provided that your Highness will not suffer by such an arrangement. I do not know the strength of that force sent. I advise that as large a force as can be done quickly, without

any detriment to this State, be posted on the frontier. Whatever your Highness intend to do, let it be done quickly, for this is the time to act. If the critical moments pass assistance will not be of much use. These requisitions be carried out, that I may report to the Governor-General's Agent. I propose by today's post to inform the Commissioner Ajmer and the Brigadier Commanding at Nusseerabad that Marwar troops will be assembled in that direction to aid the British Government and I beg that your Highness be placed to order Koosul Raj Singhee (the Commandant) to act upon any instructions he may receive from those officers.

In like manner with reference to the 3rd requisition, I hope that a force will be collected or located on the frontier near Beawar.

That force can be composed of quotas furnished by the Chiefs of the Adjacent Provinces.

(True Translation)

Sd/- G. H. Monck Mason,  
Political Agent at Jodhpoor.

(True Copy)

Sd/- A.G.S.J. Midmay.  
Assistant Agent Governor-General.

## VIII

### EXTRACTS FROM FOREIGN SECRET PROCEEDINGS.

*Foreign Secret Proceedings* (18) December, 1857, No. 203.

From

Lieutenant G. H. Monck Mason,  
Political Agent Jodhpoor.

To

Colonel G.S.P. Lawrence,  
Offg. Agent Governor-General for the State of  
Rajpootana.



D/Jodhpoor, the 27th of May, 1857.

Sir,

I have the honour to send a Translation of the letter from the Maharaja of Jodhpoor to my address, a copy of which was submitted yesterday to you with my letter No. 250.

Jodhpoor Poll. Agency  
Office

The 27th of May, 1857.

I have the honour to be & c.

Sd/- G.H. Monck Mason,  
Political Agent.

Free Translation of a letter from Maharaja Tukht Singh of Marwar to Lieutenant Monck Mason Poll. Agent at Jodhpoor in reply to his letter of the 22nd Instant dated, the 25th of May, 1857.

Since the tidings of the insurrection reached me, my heart has been full of anxiety and trepidation but what can I do. I am too far off to gratify my inclination by attacking the rebels and visiting upon them condign punishments. Such out-breaks are always short lived, and I am confident that the rebels will soon be punished as they deserve.

According to your advice I have posted horsement every ten miles between Beawar and Palee with instructions to receive and convey letters from Beawar to Palee, and Vice Versa, and to escort European Officers, who may travel between those places.

On the 22nd Instant I sent Orders to Koosul Raj Singhee, who commands a field force of 5000 Men composed of Artillery, Cavalry and Infantry, with 20 Guns which has been employed against the disaffected Marwar Chiefs of Gular etc. to proceed without delay, and encamp at Alaneeawas with 200 Horse and Foot and 6 Gune, and to

obey all Orders which he may receive from the Commissioner of Ajmere leaving 2,800 Horse, and Foot with 12 Guns to cover the rebellious Chiefs, who have joined and assisted the Thakoor of Gular notwithstanding your warnings and in direct disobedience to orders issued by this Government, also to detach 200 Horse and 2 Guns to Bare a village on the Frontier of Mhairwara under Sheoraj Shinghee with instructions to obey all orders from the Commissioner Ajmere and the Brigadier Commanding the Rajpootana Field Force at Nusseerabad, 500 more Horse and Foot will be sent to reinforce that Detachment at Bare. (p. 238).

The Officers in command of those Detachments have been ordered to report their arrival at their respective destinations without delay, with a view to your being informed. The Officers of the Troops remaining at Gular have been desired in case of emergency (as they also are close to Ajmere) to act on the requisition of the Commissioner of Ajmere without reference to Jodhpoor. As I am very anxious for intelligence, you will oblige me by informing of all that may transpire.

The 500 Horse and Foot destined for Bare will be sent as soon as possible.

(True Translation)

Jodhpoor,  
The 27th of May, 1857.

Sd/- G. H. Monck Mason,  
*Political Agent.*

(True Copies)

Sd/- A. G. S. J. Midmay,  
*Assistant Agent Governor-General.*

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## IX

## EXTRACTS FROM FOREIGN SECRET PROCEEDINGS

Cons. No. 204.

From Officiating Agent Governor-General.

No. 2A

From

Colonel G.S.P. Lawrence,  
Officiating Agent Governor-General  
for the States of Rajpootana.

To

G. F. Edmostone Esqr.,  
Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign  
Department.

Dated, Beam the 9th of June, 1857.

Sir,

Previous to the receipt of your Telegraphic despatch, I had reported officially, and demi-officially the principal occurrences, and measures adopted by me in the present exigency, and I have now the honour to submit for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, the following summary of events in Rajpootana, consequent on the late mutinies.

2. I regret that this is necessarily short as immediately on hearing of the dangerous illness of Colonel Dixon I started by Horse-dawk from Mount Aboo for this place which I reached on the 6th Instant bringing with me only one clerk, who is at present sick.

3. On receiving information of the out-breaks at Meerut and Delhi, I at once issued proclamations\* to all the Chiefs at Rajpootana to concentrate

\*Copies of which have } their forces on their respective  
 been furnished to you } frontiers so as to be available  
                                       } wherever their services  
 might be required. I particularly called on them to be on the alert to capture or destroy anybody of rebels, passing through their territories and I offered rewards of Rs. 500 for the apprehension of any man concerned in the barbarities perpetrated at the above Stations.

4. My requisitions have been cordially responded to by the various Chiefs.

5. The Jodhpore Rajah recalling the Army he had assembled for the coercion of his rebellious Thakoors (which he said was matter of secondary importance to that of assisting the British Government) placed about 5000 Cavalry and Infantry at my disposal with 28 Guns. A portion of this force upwards of 2000 has gone after the Nusseerabad Mutineers, and I have just sent my Assistant Captain Hardcastle to overtake and accompany them.

6. Captain Eden, Political Agent Jeypore, has proceeded with 2000 Raj Troops to Kotpootlee where he will be in readiness to intercept fugitive from Delhie or to act against the Nusserabad Rebels who it is believed are moving by that route and Ulwar on Delhie and with the Marwar Troops in the rear I have great hopes that most of them will be cut up.

7. I had directed Captain Eden himself to remain at Jeypore where with the remanant of the Rajah's Troops he would have been able to have attacked with success those rebels who encamped within half a mile of the City, but he reported that the Lieutenant Governor N. W. Provinces had previously ordered him on towards Muttra which order he considered himself bound to obey.

8. Major Burton, with 800 Harowtee Troops in somewhere on the Nusseerabad Road. 500 Beekaneer Horse and Camel men are on the frontier of that State ready to act as may be required.

Captain Showers with the Meywar Troops is believed to be in pursuit of the Neemuch Mutineers.

9. I have authorized Captain Hardcastle to raise 150 to 200 Shekhawattee Horses from amongst the most redoubted Freebooters who are all well-known to him, and I have no doubt, but that they will prove eminently useful to Government.

10. I have sanctioned the payment of extra batta to the men of the Mhairwaarrah Local Battalion, who have been employed in protecting the Arsenal and Treasury of Ajmere, and who most fortunately relieved in time the traitorous Sepoys of the 15th N. I. which, I am quite sure will be met with the approval of Government.

11. I ordered the Kotah Contingent to march on Ajmere for the protection of the Arsenal and Treasury as well as the City where is concentrated a large portion of the wealth of Rajpootana it having been inhabited by several native Bankers and Merchants, but Captain Denny conceived himself justified in setting my Order aside and obeyed the Lieutenant Governor's requisition for his advance on Muttra.

12. Finding such to be the case, I made an urgent requisition for Troops from Dessa, as already reported to Government.

13. The Cavalry and Artillery of the Dessa force reached Nusseerabad this morning. The European and Native Infantry, will I trust, be there on the morning on the 12th Instant.

## X

SUMMARY NOTES FROM FILE NO. 3 OF 1857, MARWAR  
CONTAINING CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN  
VARIOUS POLITICAL AGENTS REGARD-  
ING THE MUTINY OF 1857-58.

Selections from Mutiny Correspondence.

*I. Letters from Major Eden.*

(1) How nervous they were is shown by a letter written by Major Eden at Abu to Mason at Jodhpur dated 4th June, 1857—"What times are there..... May he who orders all things, guide and lead us safely.... through these great troubles."

(2) Extracts from a letter written by Eden from Abu dated, 13th June, 1857 to Mason, saying "can you learn from your Rajah, whether the Bazee Bhaie of Gwalior wrote to him or other Rajpoot chiefs asking them to join our Sepoys in turning us out of India. The Bhurtpore troops seem to have promised to join them in Mutiny. We hear whisperings too.....against the character and stability of the Kotah contingent....."

*II. Letters from Mason.*

(3) In letter No. 485 of the 26th August, 1857 from Jodhpur, Mason wrote to General Lawrence that the Jodhpur ruler has just informed him about the Mutiny by Jodhpur Legion. Upon Mason's request, the Jodhpur ruler sent his friend Anar Singh to proceed against the Mutineers and to rescue the Europeans and to relieve Abu from their pressure.

(4) Regarding the activities of the Erinpura rebels and their association with the Auwa Thakur—the official report No. 545 of 1857 says that Anar Singh was sent by

Jodhpur Chief to intercept the Mutineers before they could reach Pali. Anar Singh reached Pali earlier and when the rebels saw it, they turned towards Auwa where they entrenched themselves in conjunction with the Auwa Thakur's troops. Under instructions from the Jodhpur His Highness, Anar Singh attacked Auwa but could not achieve much success.

(5) In letter No. 546 of 1857, dated 10th September Mason informed the A.G.G. Lawrence that the Mutineers of Jodhpur Legion surprised Anar Singh's army, with the help of the chiefs of Auwa, Gular etc. and killed Anar Singh and inflicted heavy loss. Mason requested the Jodhpur ruler to take active and strong measures.

### *III. Letters from Gulab Chand.*

(6) Even private correspondence shows (as is shown by this intercepted letter from one Gulabchand Nathu Mul, Jodhpur to Manchand Ghelchand, Ahmedabad, dated 30th August, 1857) that "around Delhi and even in camps in this part, regiments are rising against the British Government; in short all the native regiments are against Government. In Marwar several chiefs are intriguing to rise in a rebellion against English.....In other States the case is the same.....".

### *IV. Letters from Captain Hall.*

(7) Letter No. 23 of 1858, dated 26-1-1858, sent by Captain Hall, Officiating Police Superintendent, Sirohi, to Major Morrison, Political Agent, Jodhpur says that "during the mutiny at Erinpura, the villagers (from certain villages whose names cannot be deciphered owing to mutilation) (all) of Marwar plundered the cantonment to a large extent, taking off property————(worth of) above 30000 Rs.".

*V. Letters by Major Morrison.*

(8) How unpopular were the British in Jodhpur is shown by the confession made by Major Morrison, Officiating Political Agent, Jodhpur to Lt. Col. Anderson—Political Agent, Jodhpur vide his letter from Ajmer, dated 16th May, 1858, in which he says ‘there was not to the best of my belief a single individual in the Marwar Territory whose zeal (against us) prominent during the season of general defection’.

*VI. Lawrence’s report, dated 27th July, 1858 on the Mutiny in Rajputana submitted to the Governor-General in Council.*

(9) Despatch No. 107A—784A, dated 27th July, 1858, from Lawrence, Officiating A.G.G. to the Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department, gives an excellent account of the “narrative of the progress of events throughout Rajpootana from the date of the out-break at Meerut in May, 1857 up to the date by which Kotah was taken by the Rajpootana forces.” (This is a printed report of 39 pages and the summary is given herewith. It also contains a review of the conduct of the Native Chiefs).

(10) At the commencement of the Mutiny the six centres of British forces viz., Nuseerabad, Neemuch, Deolee, Beawar, Erinpoora, and Kherwara did not contain even a single European soldier in Rajpootana.

(11) The first intelligence reached Abu from Bharatpur and Agra on the 19th May, and immediately the A.G.G. informed the various residents and commandants to take all precautionary measures.

(12) On 23rd May, Lawrence issued a proclamation to all Chiefs of Rajpootana to procure peace aid to intercept rebel fugitive. This was well received specially by Jodhpur.



(13) With 5000 troops from Jaipur, Eden, the Political Agent marched towards Muttra and Gurgaon to maintain order and though his troops were excited by Thakur Sheonath Singh—Ex-Minister of Jaipur to murder Eden on 20th July, yet Eden “returned unbroken to Jaipur. He rescued several Europeans in Gurgaon district and punished the Mewatis.”

(14) At Bharatpur, Captain Nixon volunteered to lead the troops of the State and Alwar also sent 2500 men to co-operate with Nixon. But two of his companies of Bharatpur troops mutinied at Muttra and Alwar troops were either bribed or over-awed by them, so much, so that they could take no action against the mutineers.

(15) The Mutiny at Nuseerabad commenced at 4 P.M. on 28th May by the Infantry and Artillery seizing guns. After destroying the cantonment, they hastened to Delhi and Ajmer was saved.

(16) On the night of 3rd June, the troops at Neemuch began to set the cantonments on fire. “Most of the Europeans fled and with the exception of 14 or 15 houses, the whole station was burnt to the ground.” Then having looted the sum of Rs. 1,31,900 from treasuries they left for Delhi. Neemuch was recaptured by the British. Lawrence reports the fidelity of the Mhair and Mhaiwat population of Ajmer and Mhairwara Districts. They said that, as they owed all their civilization and prosperity to the British, they were determined to stand by them.

(17) On 8th September, the rebels again attacked Neemuch. But they were defeated and since November there had been no disturbance.

(18) On 21st August the Jodhpur Legion mutinied at Abu. Having done some destruction, they reached Erin-pura where they were joined by the infantry and artillery

They marched towards Ajmer, but turned towards Auwa and A.G.G. himself attacked Auwa but failed and withdrew to Ajmer. This force of Jodhpur Legion stayed at Auwa till 10th October and then moved towards Delhi but was destroyed near Narnoul. A second attack was made on Auwa and it was destroyed completely.

(19) On 16th September Major Burton and his sons were killed by the rebels whose principal leaders were Jai Dayal and Mehrab Khan. "The former had been a vakeel in attendance on the Political Agent, but Major Burton had caused his removal", and possibly he took revenge for this. In March, 1853, Kotah was retaken.

## XI

SUMMARY NOTES FROM FILE NO. 84—JODHPUR OLD VOL. I AND II DEALING WITH THE REBELLIOUS CONDUCT OF THE THAKUR OF AWAH, THE ATTACK BY THE A.G.G.; GOVERNMENT REMARKS REGARDING THE DESTRUCTION OF THE FORT; THE REQUEST OF THE THAKUR FOR THE RESTORATION OF HIS ESTATE; THE CAUSE OF THE THAKUR'S OUTLAWRY AND HIS OPPOSITION TO THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT; SURRENDER OF THE THAKUR, HIS TRIAL AND THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMITTEE OF TRIAL; GRANT OF UNCONDITIONAL PARDON TO THE THAKUR.

Section A—*Causes and course of Awah Thakur's opposition.*

(1) An excellent account of the causes are recorded in the report of Captain Nixon—Political Agent, Jodhpur, to Major Eden—Officiating A.G.G. at Mt. Abu, vide his letter No. 98, dated 14th December, 1859.

(2) Captain Nixon wrote in his report that Thakur Khooshal Singh of Awah belonged to one of the most turbulent clans of Jodhpur. He had displeased the Maharaja of Jodhpur by interfering arbitrarily in the succession case of Beethora (Another Jagir) and had displeased the Maharaja so very much that a Jodhpur army was sent to punish him for his indiscipline. But meanwhile the Mutiny had been started and General Lawrence—the then A.G.G., called out the Jodhpur regiments for the protection of arsenal and were later on sent to pursue the Mutineers, which they did up to Jaipur. But in August, 1857, the Jodhpur Legion mutinied at Erinpura, and were passing through the Jodhpur territory, when the Thakur of Awah offered them service, which they first refused, but later accepted when the conditions of service were made more lucrative. Captain Nixon emphasised this point in his report and said that “it shows that the Awah Thakoor spontaneously took part in the rebellion and.....he .....enticed them into his service.”

(3) Thereupon, a force of the Jodhpur Durbar was sent against him, but was defeated and returned. Then, General Lawrence himself went, and though he was victorious, yet his gains were not substantial, as he could not reduce Awah without heavy guns. Meanwhile Captain Mason Political Agent of Jodhpur was treachrously slain probably by the Thakur of Awah and this inflamed all the more the British sentiments, who were already displeased with him because he had joined hands with the Mutineers.

(4) Three other Thakurs, viz., Sheonath Singh of Asope, Bishen Singh of Goolur and Ajeet Singh of Alaneeawas, who had previously opposed the Jodhpur Raj, were also leagued with Khooshal Singh. Sheonath Singh was besieged in the village of Burloo and was forced to surrender. He was pardoned and kept in Jodhpur. The

other two Thakurs were ousted from their jagirs and they settled in the Sikar area.

(5) In January 1858, a force under Brigadier Holmes invested Awah, but under the cover of a heavy storm of rain, the Thakur escaped and reached Sikar and continued to plunder the Marwar territory and to assist the Asope Thakur.

Section B—*Trial of Thakur Khooshal Singh of Awah.*

(6) But later on he settled quietly in Kotharia—a village in Mewar, and was securing the British help in his recall, though the Maharaja of Jodhpur was determined not to pardon him. He wrote a number of letters to Major Taylor—Officiating Political Agent, Mewar, saying that he had no hand in the murder of Captain Mason and that his jagir should be given back to him. But Taylor insisted vide his letter dated 8th May, 1860, first on his unconditional surrender which he ultimately did at Neemuch on the 8th August, 1860.

(7) The Governor-General-in-Council permitted Major Eden—the A.G.C. at Abu, to appoint a commission to examine the charges against the Thakur. The Thakur requested that his trial should be held outside Marwar and that any other man except Major Nixon—the Political Agent at Jodhpur, should conduct it. These conditions were granted.

(8) The trial opened at Ajmer on the following charges—

- (i) that he gave asylum to the murderers of Captain Mason;
- (ii) that from August, 1857 to January 1858, he acted as a leader of the rebels against the British Government.

A large number of witnesses were examined by the Commission under the chairmanship of Major Taylor, and the Commission came to the conclusion that the nature of evidence available did not warrant the imposition of any sentence whatsoever. Accordingly, it was recommended to the Government that the Thakur should be acquitted unconditionally. The A.G.G. having agreed, the report was forwarded to the Governor-General-in-Council. By the despatch No. 5562, dated the 10th November, 1860, the Governor-General-in-Council confirmed the findings and unconditional pardon was granted to the Thakur of Awah.

## XII

### SUMMARY NOTES AND EXTRACTS FROM HAKIKAT BAHIES NO. 18 AND 21, LODGED AT THE DASTARI RECORDS, JODHPUR

#### *A.—Political condition on the eve of the Mutiny of 1857.*

(1) The British troops were sent against Russia and they achieved a victory over the Russians after a protracted struggle. The news of the British victory created a stir in Jodhpur (and people started thinking about the British hold in India). Under instructions from the East India Company the victory was duly commemorated in Jodhpur. (Hakikat of Tuesday, the 2nd of the Bright-half of Migsar, V.S. 1912, page 276, Bahi No. 18).

(2) The Maharana of Udaipur and his jagirdars are not carrying on good terms. The British troops, in co-operation with the Maharana, intend to chastise the Mewari nobles. The Maharaja of Jodhpur has ordered that none of these Mewari nobles should be given shelter in Marwar

and Risaldar Munna Lal was sent, as desired by the British, to Godwad to meet the British forces going to Udaipur and to keep watch at the passes. (Hakikat of Saturday, the 13th of the Dark-half of Posh, V.S. 1912, page 278, Bahi No. 18).

(3) Singhvi Kushal Raj went to Purbatsar and Maroth with his troops (to subdue the rebels in that area). He besieged Gular (whose Thakur had anti-British inclinations) and took it. (Hakikat of the 8th Dark-half of Jaisth, V.S. 1913, page 365, Bahi No. 18).

*B.—Out-break of the Mutiny in India.*

(4) The mutineers, consisting of Hindus and Muslims, plundered a number of cantonments. The entire population of Delhi revolted and having put to sword the Englishmen who lived at Delhi, the people have established their authority there. The British Political Agent at Jodhpur approached the Jodhpur ruler for help and the Maharaja directed Singhvi Kushal Raj, Ratan Raj, Shiv Raj, (who were busy fighting at Gular) to go to Alaniyavas (and await instructions from the British). On being asked by the British authorities he was to proceed further. Kushal Raj was posted first at Alaniyavas but later on he went to Ajmer. Ratan Raj proceeded to Nava Nagar. Shiv Raj too was sent to Ajmer. Kushal Raj, Khichi Ummaid, Najar Mustak etc. chased the Mutineers who had plundered the cantonment of Nasirabad and Neemuch. The mutineers had gone far, beyond their reach and they (Jodhpur troops) returned after having chased the Mutineers up to a distance of 40 Koses. (Hakikat of the 4th of the Bright-half of Jaisth, V.S. 1913, page 366, Bahi No. 18).

(5) Special guards were deputed for the military party which left at night for Ajmer with money, meant for the

Jodhpur troops posted at Ajmer. (Hakikat of the 9th of the Dark-half of Ashad, V.S. 1913, page 372, Bahi No. 18).

(6) Khakhi Sadhus (who were going from place to place with a view to instigate the people) were given warm reception in the palace. (Hakikat of the 7th of the Dark-half of Kartik, V.S. 1914, Bahi No. 18).

*C.—Thakur Khushal Singh of Auwa and his revolt with the Assistance of the Mutineers of Erinpura.*

(7) The Mutineers, who came from Deesa cantonment, plundered the cantonment of Erinpura, imprisoned two or three European ladies and proceeded towards Pali. Since the Jodhpur troops under Panwar Anar Singh, Rao Raj Mal, Mehta Chattarmal and Najar Mustak had already been posted at Pali, the Mutineers went to village Karathi of the Auwa Jagirdari instead of Pali. Mehta Vijyamal, who was sent against them by the Jodhpur Maharaja, encamped at Chavadia. The Mutineers, then, proceeded to Auwa and the Jodhpur army halted at Beethora. In the fight that took place, the son of the Jayirdar of Mēethari Jalore was killed. The chief of Auwa is in league with the Mutineers and he fired his guns upon the Jodhpur State troops. (Hakikat of the 4th of the Dark-half of Asoj, V.S. 1914, page 384, Bahi No. 18).

(8) The British Political Agent, Mason, came to Maharaja Takhat Singh on 4th of the Dark-half of Asoj, V.S. 1914 (7th September, 1857 A.D.) and remained in the palace for about 2 hours. (Hakikat of the 4th of the Dark-half of Asoj, V.S. 1913, page 384, Bahi No. 18).

(9) The forces of Auwa and Purbia Mutineers suddenly attacked the Jodhpur State forces on the day of the Ghodavid Chhat early in the morning. In the action that took place Panwar Anar Singh and Rao Raj Mal fell

fighting with their men. There were some casualties on the other side also. This news reached the Maharaja on the next day at the passing of the first prahar (about 9.30 A.M.). In token of the mourning of the death of Anar Singh who fell fighting against the forces of Auwa the usual beating of the drums was suspended for one time. The Durbar sent Nazir Harkaran and Parihar Shaligram to the respective Havelies of Panwar Anar Singh and Rao Raj Mal for conveying the feelings of remorse to the families of the deceased persons. (Hakikat of the 7th of the Dark-half of Asoj, V.S. 1914, pages 384-385, Bahi No. 18).

(10) Mehta Vijaya Mal and Singhvi Chhagan Raj, who were at Auwa with Kushal Raj, returned to Jodhpur. (This Hakikat indicates that the Jodhpur Durbar failed to suppress the Mutiny at Auwa—Hakikat of the 8th of the Dark-half of Asoj V.S. 1914, Bahi No. 18).

(11) Captain Mason, the Political Agent of Jodhpur, galloped to Sojat and Pali to see the A.G.G. who had come there from Ajmer. (Hakikat of the 13th of the Dark-half of Asoj, V.S. 1914).

*D.—The A.G.G. in person proceeds against the Thakur of Auwa.*

(12) General Lawrence, the A.G.G., hastened from Ajmer to take the field against the Thakur of Ahua in person, with a force, consisting of native and foreign battalions. Captain Mason also reached the spot. Singhvi Kushal Raj and Mehta Chhatar Mal too joined the British camp from Pali. In the action that took place on the day of 'Amavasya' Captain Mason sold his life dearly. The rebels, after their victory over the enemy's troops, had fallen back on Auwa. The news of the disastrous defeat was brought to the Maharaja on the 1st of the Bright-half, The



Maharaja sent Mehta Vijaya Mal and Singhvi Samrath Raj to Sursagar in order to communicate the news of the event to Mrs. Mason and her children. (Even) at the death of Mason the beating of Drums (Nobat) were not suspended (as they were suspended on the death of Anar Singh vide para 9 supra).

*N.B.*—These two last lines are full of significance. As a custom the beating of Drums (Nobat) should have remained suspended due to the death of an important person. The beating of Drums was closed due to the death of Anar Singh. The reason for not suspending the beating of Drums is not far to seek. In fact the Maharaja was so much afraid of the public opinion that he did not show any sympathy for the deceased. The suspension of the beating of Drums (Nobat) would have been an official mourning for a British officer which would have further provoked the resentment in Marwar and Jodhpur proper. These lines rightly lead us to a conclusion that in Marwar it was a popular rising and this is why the Maharaja did not like to offend the people by closing of the beating of Drums which would have meant an honour for the British officer.

(Hakikat of the 1st of the Bright-half of Asoj, V.S. 1914, Bahi No. 18).

*E.—Re-occupation of Delhi and the Massacre of the Mutineers.*

(13) One hundred twenty-one guns were fired at Jodhpur in honour of the re-occupation of Delhi and the

massacre and arrest of the mutineers by the British—the news regarding which were communicated to the Maharaja by the A.G.G. (Hakikat of the 8th of the Bright-half of Asoj, V.S. 1914).

(14) On this 13th day of the month, the Jagir of Auwa was confiscated and handed over to Shri Chand. (Hakikat of the 11th of the Bright-half of Asoj, V.S. 1914, Bahi No. 18).

(15) In place of Mason, who was killed at Auwa, another Political Agent named Morrison was appointed. No formality of reception was observed and so the new Political Agent reached his quarters at Sursagar without being formally received.

N.B.—These two last lines are full of significance. The Maharaja did not give any reception to the new Agent, because he did not like to offend the public of Jodhpur.

(Hakikat of the 2nd of the Dark-half of Kartik, V.S. 1914, Bahi No. 18).

*F.—The Thakurs of Gular and Alaniyavas joined the Auwa Chief and they all proceeded towards Delhi.*

(16) (Soon after the retreat of the British force), the mutineers came out of their defence of Auwa and marched onward to Delhi. They were also joined by the Jagirdars of Gular and Alaniyavas. In order to punish and pursue them the Maharaja sent Singhvi Kushal Raj and Mehta Chhatarmal. The mutineers encamped at Narnol and the Maharaja's men encamped at the village Gareki. From Delhi came the British troops consisting of Sikhs and Europeans, and they fought with the mutineers on the day of 'Amavas' and defeated them. Some mutineers were put

to death and rest of them fled away. The news of the event was known through the letter of Singhvi Kushal Raj. The bearers of the letter were rewarded with 'Motia' and 'Balabendi'. (Hakikat of the 6th of the Bright-half of Margshirsh, V.S. 1914, page No. 403, Bahi No. 18).

*G.—Auwa remained rebellious even after the defeat of the Mutineers at Narnol.*

(17) Pancholi Dhanroop was ordered to proceed to the Marwar border and look to the comforts of A.G.G. who was marching towards Auwa with his forces. (Hakikat of the 7th of the Bright-half of Posh, V.S. 1914, page No. 405, Bahi No. 18).

(18) The Jagirdar of Auwa, who had given shelter to the Mutineers, had to be suppressed. He fought against the forces of the Jodhpur Durbar. He was responsible for the death of Captain Mason. The British troops, under Lawrence, (therefore) besieged Auwa. The fighting took place for five days. The first fire came from the village. On the 9th of the Bright-half of Magh, the Mutineers and the Jagirdar of Auwa escaped unhurt at night. His brother Prithvi Singh and his followers all left the village. On the 10th of the Bright-half of Magh, the village of Auwa was occupied by the British troops and the authority of the Jodhpur Durbar was established there. This news was communicated to the Jodhpur Durbar on the 11th of the Bright-half of Magh.

*N.B.—*The most remarkable thing in this Hakikat concerns the mention of the entire population of Auwa taking up arms against the British. It shows that the Mutineers enjoyed the people's support for their cause. It was thus not merely a rising of Thakurs or Sepoy's who had their

personal grievances but the people at large also sided with them fearing lest their culture and social order should be endangered due to the British penetration.

(19) Pancholi Dhanroop proceeded to Jaitaran to receive the British troops under Holmes who came to invade Auwa. (It seems that the Thakur of Auwa re-occupied his village by turning out the British forces). The army reached Auwa and on the night of the 4th of the Bright-half of Magh, Auwa was re-occupied by the British troops and the authority of the Jodhpur Durbar was re-established. (Hakikat of the 6th of the Dark-half of Phalgun V.S. 1914).

(20) Another party consisting of Madho Singh and other nobles of note was sent to suppress the Thakur of Auwa (The Haramkhor). Both the parties engaged into the action for about 3 hours resulting in the defeat of Auwa. But he was not completely suppressed and so another party under Vijaya Mal was sent against Auwa. (Hakikat of the 9th of the Bright-half of Vaishakh V.S. 1914, page No. 424, Bahi No. 18).

(21) Those who had lost their lives or were wounded in Auwa case were all rewarded by the Maharaja who conferred upon them Jagirs, fields, or wells. (Hakikat of the 9th of the Bright-half of Vaishakh, page No. 424, Bahi No. 18).

(22) Mehta Vijaya Mal and Najar Mustak could not completely crush the Jagirdar of Auwa who fled towards Godwad. They who had gone to fight against him returned to Jodhpur. (Hakikat of the 11th of the Dark-half of Ashad V.S. 1914, Bahi No. 18).

(23) Morrison was transferred from Jodhpur and in his place Anderson was appointed as the Political Agent of

Jodhpur. But he died at Abu. The news of his death was communicated by Vyas Heera Lal, but this time also the beating of Nobat was not suspended. Again there is a reference to the attitude of the ruler, who did not like to observe any condolence out of fear. (Hakikat of the 1st Dark-half of Bhadhava, V.S. 1915).

(24) Rathore Jaswant Singh, Bhati Girdhar Singh, Bhati Sultan Singh, Rathore Chain Singh, Rathore Aidan, Rathore Sampat Singh, Rathore Bhairon Singh, Mool Raj, Chatar Singh, Rathore Nahar Singh were asked to proceed against Auwa and crush the Auwa Chief. (Hakikat of the 10th of the Bright-half of Bhadhava V.S. 1915, Bahi No. 18).

(25) Sakti Dan, the brother of the Jagirdar of Asop who was kept as prisoner in the Haveli of Auwa at Jodhpur died on this day. (Hakikat of the 4th of the Bright-half of Asoj, V.S. 1915, Bahi No. 18).

*H.—The movements of the Mutineers in Marwar.*

(26) According to the reports of certain spies, Mutineers were still lingering in Asop. The people who gave this news were rewarded by the Maharaja.

*N.B.*—This Hakikat shows that up to this day all was not quiet at Jodhpur and resentment against British Power was still continuing.

(Hakikat of the 9th of the Bright-half of Magh, V.S. 1915, Bahi No. 18).

(27) Joshi Hans Raj, who had been sent to Auwa with troops came back. (Hakikat of the 2nd of the Bright-half of the Phalgun, V.S. 1915, page No. 504, Bahi No. 18).

(28) The entire patta of Asop was confiscated and handed over first to Bhandari Bhag Chand and later on to

Mehta Chhatar Mal. (Hakikat of the 7th Bright-half of Margshirsh, V.S. 1915, page No. 403, Bahi No. 18).

(29) The troops of the Jodhpur Durbar besieged the village Badloo. The Jagirdar resisted for some days. Later on he begged for forgiveness. He was taken to Jodhpur and put under custody but was allowed to keep his men with him. (Hakikat of the 4th of the Dark-half of Magh, V.S. 1914, page No. 407, Bahi No. 18).

(30) Rathore Shiv Nath Singh refused to appear before the Maharaja without his own guns. He was not allowed to carry loaded guns with him. Efforts were made to prevail upon him but he was adamant. Military pressure was put and ultimately he agreed to appear before the Jodhpur ruler in the manner, desired by him. (Hakikat of the 8th of the Dark-half of Magh, V.S. 1914, page No. 408, Bahi No. 18).

(31) Rathore Shiv Nath Singh who was behind the bars escaped secretly. (Hakikat of the 15th of the Dark-half of Kartik, V.S. 1916, page No. 243, Bahi No. 21).

(32) A party of men was sent to help the Political Agent who took upon himself the responsibility of suppressing the Thakurs and the people of Gular. They had left Gular and had proceeded towards Kishangarh in order to make a common cause with the people of Naraina and Kotri. (Hakikat of the 2nd of the Bright-half of Kartik, V.S. 1916, page No. 44, Bahi No. 21).

*I.—Long after the suppression of the Mutiny Auwa remained rebellious.*

(33) From the Hakikat of the 1st of the Bright-half of Chaitra, V.S. 1916, page No. 99, Bahi No. 21, it appears that the Auwa case was not closed as yet. Singhvi Shiv Raj was ordered to march against Auwa and for the expenses a lump sum of Rs. 1102/6/- was given to him. Similarly according

to the Hakikat of the 5th of the Dark-half of Jaishth, it is clear that Jodhpur troop had to march against Bilada and Khadiya-ri-Nal and Asop. Singhi Ratan Raj was ordered to march again towards Auwa on the 4th of the Dark-half of Kartik. As late as the 12th of the Bright-half of Kartik, V.S. 1918, the Jodhpur troops were busy fighting against the people of Asop and some trouble was still there in the vicinity of Alaniyavas.

N.B.—In the Hakikat Bahies the dates have been recorded as per the Marwar State Calendar according to which every new year begins with effect from the 1st Dark-half of Shravan.

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### XIII

#### EXTRACTS FROM FOREIGN SECRET PROCEEDINGS

*Foreign Secret Proceedings 28 May, 1858, No. 382 (Page 440).  
No. 253 of 1858 No. 12.*

From

Brigr. Genl. G. St. P. Lawrence,  
Officiating Agent Governor-General for the  
States of Rajpootana.

To

G. F. Edmonstone Esqr.,  
Secretary to the Government of India  
with the Governor-General.

*D/Ajmere 26th February, 1858.*

Sir,

With reference to letter No. 27 of the 13th instant from the Officiating Secretary to Government desiring that the complete destruction of the defences of Awah be carried out, I have the honour to submit for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General copy of Major Morrison's despatch with enclosures reporting proceedings in that quarter.

2. It will be observed that the officer details the measures adopted by the British Troops in the demolition of Awah and those of the Maharaja of Jodhpore to punish and coerce his refractory chiefs who took advantage of the critical times to assume a hostile and defiant attitude against the Paramount Power by calling in the Mutinous Jodhpore Legion, and participating in the murder of the British Agent.

3. I trust that Major Morrison's proceedings will meet the approval of Government, both he and I have moved the Maharaja to continue the demolition of Awah, and to vigorously pursue the Thakoor and his confederates. Major Morrison has most cordially met my wishes and co-operated with the Force under Col. Holmes.

4. It will be a matter for future serious consideration, how far British interference is to be employed between the Rulers of Rajpoot States and their nobles, who it had been shown under their master's power merely nominal either to aid the British Government or keep the peace of their own territory. Late events have brought more forcibly to view this unpleasant state of affairs. I should be glad to obtain an early exposition of the views of Government on this important subject.

*Rajpootana Agency,  
Ajmere.  
The 26th February, 1858.*

I have the honour to be &c.  
Sd/- G. St. P. LAWRENCE,  
*Officiating Agent  
Governor-General.*

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#### XIV

#### EXTRACTS FROM FOREIGN SECRET PROCEEDINGS

28th MAY, 1858, No. 38.

Encl. No. 1 in a letter No. 8, D/14th February, 1858  
From Political Agent, Jodhpore.

Translation of a Khureeta to His Highness the Maharaja of Jodhpore, D/12th February, 1858.



### After Compliments,

The circumstances attending the defection of the Ahwa Thakoor Khooshal Singh and the punishment which has just been visited upon his town and house, do not require any further amplification from myself, as your Vukeels Shabaz Khan and Singhee Sawat Raj and Joshee Hunsraj, will have kept you informed of the operations of the Force which has been sent against Ahwa, and of my several recommendations to them on various points required to be communicated to yourself.

2. I think it proper, however, to revert in this Official manner a few of the more important of these, in order to prevent any mistake or misconception hereafter.

3. The acts of rebellion of which Khooshal Singh and his immediate relatives the Lambeya, Bhauta and Zheemalya Thakoors as well as the Asoph, the Goolur and the Alaneeawas Thakoors have been guilty, have been so grievous and ill-trying, and have evinced such a hostility to the British Government by uniting with their mutinous Troops and massacring the late Political Agent Capt. Monck Mason, and have also embarrassed yourself to such a degree as to render you incapable of carrying out your own wish to exhibit your own devotion to the British Government as well as to preserve the peace and tranquillity of your kingdom, at a time when by reason of the sudden defection of its own troops, the British Government was unable to maintain the integrity of its own power in its own dominions, that it is necessary to receive their sense which is entertained of these acts in a way which will never be forgotten. For this purpose, the personal estate of all these Thakoors should be declared to be for ever confiscated and never to be restored to the same family or clan, and

a copy of your Highness' proclamation should be forwarded for record in this office, and for transmission to the Durbars of Oodipore, and Jeypore. The life of the Ahwa Thakoor will be considered forfeit to the British Government, if he should ever be taken alive; but your Highness will treat the other Thakoors in any way you may think most commensurate with their offences.

4. The destruction of Ahwa, as it removes the chief obstacle to the Estbt. and proper recognition of your authority in the Godeevar Soojeet and Jeetamu districts, it is hoped that this will now enable you to preserve the peace in these, without the apprehension of having your power at defiance by the existence of a strong hold which was too formidable to be reduced by your own troops; but to enable you to secure the country, and prevent any of the ill disposed from again forming a lodgment unit, or making predatory incursions into it, it will be necessary that all the chief passes in the mountains leading into Meywar or Mhairwarra, should be held by your own Troops or people in whom you have complete confidence, in order that none of the fugitives or disaffected people either of Mhairwarra or Meywar should be able to enter Marwar, without information being immediately conveyed to the chief and cantonments for Troops which should be maintained in critical situations and ready to move on any point that may be threatened, or in rapid pursuit of any of the Marauders. The destruction of the Thakoor's dwelling house at Ahwa has been complete. The masonry bastion and gateways of his town have also been destroyed, but the remainder of the masonry wall and all the earthen bastions, out works, and embankments, have been left in a state uninjured, as their complete demolition would have required a longer state of time than the force was able to spare, and as the place could again be made defensible if occupied by the

Thakoor or any hostile party, and might occasion some trouble and expense in retaking, I have advised your Officers to obtain your orders for continuing the work of destruction in so effectual a manner as to prevent the possibility of anyone wishing even to take advantage of the site creating any defences for the purpose of setting the Raj again at defiance and reviving the memory of the late revolt.

5. The force to be maintained in the country should be sufficient to over-awe any opposition, and I shall be happy to hear from your Highness what amount you will be able to spare for this purpose, and how you propose to distribute your Troops not only for the preservation of the peace in the Meywar frontier, but for the districts bordering on the Shekawattee and Jeypore to the North-East, and Seohie, Pahlunpoor and Bakasun, or the Thun Parkur on the South and South-East, where some acts of disorder are still to be apprehended.

Any matters of importance which I may have omitted to notice or any points to which you may yourself be desirous of referring, in order that an explicit expression of opinion may be obtained, I shall be obliged by your bringing forward in your reply, when I shall be happy to afford such explanation as may be in my power, or to refer to higher authority, where further instruction may be requisite.

(True Copy).

Sd/- W. K. BEYNON,  
Asstt. Agent Govr. Genl.

(True Translation).

Sd/- R. MORRISON,  
Offg. Poll. Agent.

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## XV

## EXTRACTS FROM FOREIGN SECRET PROCEEDINGS

*Foreign Secret Proceedings 28 May, 1858 No. 334 (Page 450).*

*No. 384 of 1858.*

From

G. F. Edmonstone Esqr.,  
Secretary to the Government of India  
with the Governor-General.

To

Brigr. Genl. G. St. P. Lawrence,  
Offg. Agent to the Governor-General for the  
States of Rajpootana.

*D/Allahabad the 24th March, 1858.*

*Foreign Department.*

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated 26th ultimo, No. 12, submitting Major Morrison's report of his proceedings relative to the destruction of the Fort of Awah, and the punishment of the Awah Thakoor and other refractory feudatories of the Jodhpore State.

2. In your letter to the Maha Raja of Jodhpore you have, among other things, urged upon him the demolition of that portion of the fortifications at Awah, which our Troops had no time to destroy, and which it is stated might, without much difficulty, be made defensible. The Right Hon'ble the Governor-General desires me to observe that, if the demolition of the fortifications at Awah be left entirely to the Maha Raja of Jodhpur, there is not security that the work will be done with the requisite completeness. You are, therefore, requested to inform Major Morrison, that he must be prepared to aid the Maha Raja, as indicated in my letter of the 13th February.

3. With reference to the 4th para of your letter, I am desired to intimate that the question of ban of British interference is to be employed between the Rulers of Rajpoot States and their turbulent nobles, is one regarding which it does not appear to the Governor-General that it would be of advantage, even if it be possible, to lay down precise rules. It may safely be assumed as a broad principle, that the less there is of such interference the better; but in the relations in which the British Government stands to those States, cases may easily arise in which it may not only be expedient, but a duty to interfere.

4. His Lordship does not see his way to a defining of these cases beforehand; and would anticipate more of future embarrassment, than of benefit from the attempt. But he will be very glad to receive a statement of your own views on the subject.

I have the honour to be &c.

Sd/- G. F. Edmonstone,

Allahabad.

*Secretary to the Government*

The 24th March, 1858. of India with the Governor-General.

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## XVI

### COPY OF A LETTER FROM AUWA THAKUR

*English rendering of a letter from Thakur Khushal Singh  
of Auwa at Satola (Mewar) to Mehta Sher Singh,  
Ex-Minister of Udaipur at Neemuch, dated  
the 11th of the Bright-half of Asoj,  
V. S. 1918 (1861 A.D.).*

(After usual salutations and compliments from Thakur Kushal Singh to Mehta Sher Singh, the text read).

I have already requested you to approach the Major (Sahib). I hope you must have by now enquired from him

and he must have come to a definite decision. In case you have not been able to take any action in the matter, please get the needful done and inform me accordingly. I understand that Major Sahib is proceeding towards Abu. If he could allow me to accompany him, I could explain things properly. Please let me know his decision. The rest you will know from Sagat Singhji. Dated the 11th Bright-half of Asoj, V. S. 1918.

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XVII

EXTRACTS FROM FOREIGN SECRET PROCEEDINGS

*Foreign Secret Proceedings 26 March, 1858, No. 179.*

I have the honour to submit translation of a Khureeta of the 3rd January, 1858 to my address from the Nawab of Tonk reporting the Seizure of several rebels who, during the recent general revolt set at naught His Highness' authority.

2. His Lordship will deserve that active measures the Nawab is taking against his own relations and others, now his authority is becoming somewhat restored to punish them for the part they took in the revolutionary movement against the British without his countenance of support.

Rajpootana Agency,  
Ajmere,  
11th January, 1858.  
Encl. 1 in No. 34 of 1858.

I have the honour to be &c.  
Sd/- G. S. P. Lawrence,  
*Offg. Agent Governor-General.*

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## XVIII

EXTRACTS FROM FOREIGN POLITICAL  
CONSULTATIONS.*Cons. No. 180.*

Translation of a Khureeta from the Nawab of Tonk to the Offg. Agent Governor-General Rajpootana States—  
Dated Tonk the 3rd Jænuary, 1858.

After usual compliments,

I through my sincere feelings of friendship to the British Government have already informed you of the revolt and disobedience of my orders of the Prince Mahomed Moneer Khan, my brother, and of Hafiz-ameer-adeem Khan and of Uzeemoollah Khan my uncles and of other seditious persons in my Khureeta of the 19th September, 1857. I again addressed you acquainting you of the confiscation of the lands and money allowance of my younger brother Prince Mohanoodeen Khan and of Prince Khan Bahadoor Khan and of Allubahadur Khan my near relations without any respect to ties of relationship to me. You will have understood all these circumstances from reading my letters.

In as much as by the Grace of God I feel great friendship and hearty submission to the powerful British Government and know that the prosperity of my State depends upon my submission to that Government and its friends and foes are my friends and foes. I, therefore, pay no regard and never intend to, to either friends or strangers in such cases as these; and with this view I have issued a proclamation through my dominion for the apprehension of rebels to the British Government who entered this with the design of causing a revolt as well as for the seizure of those who left this for Delhi and if any servants of the British Government who mutinied and joined the rebels

and have had a Department formed for the capture of such people. I have already imprisoned in irons some who have been caught who belonged to this place and have placed in confinement immediately any who are laid hold of. Indeed I made no distinction to revolt and ordered for the seizure of Prince Mahomed Mooneer Khan and other rebels, who day by day raised some fresh sedition, and for Uzeemoollah Khan who was a cheif much looked upon to by these rebels for the crime he was guilty of as detailed in my letter of the 19th September last and who still takes a small part in the present revolt and pays no attention to the orders I gave him to desist whose behaviour I see continues without improvement and causes me fears as to the future. As I greatly feared that the above named two persons might hereafter commit acts such as the rebels against the British Government have been requiring the strictest investigation.

Moreover Uzeemoollah as a prisoner, Hafizun Ummer Allim Khan and his sons attacked with swords and fire arms my men who went to arrest them.

The Hafiz was killed and his two sons were taken prisoners wounded and have been confined—and all participators in this revolt are imprisoned in irons.

In the capture of these rebels several officers and soldiers of mine have been killed and wounded.

I have also this day had seized and placed in the Fort Princes Mahomed Mooneer Khan for the offence he formerly committed whose mention was made of in my letter of the 19th September last.



## XIX

SUMMARY NOTES FROM FILE No. 20—MUTINY 1863,  
EXPLAINING THE CIRCUMSTANCES LEADING  
TO THE ARREST AT AJMER OF NANA RAO  
DHOONDHU PUNT ETC. OF CAWNPORE  
NOTORIETY.

*Vide letter No. 740 of June 29, 1863 from Lawrence, A.G.G., to Secretary to Government of India.*

(1) On 29th June, 1863, Lawrence, A.G.G. informed the Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department, about the arrest at Ajmer of Nana Rao Dhoondhu Punt and Naroo Punt, Bhalla Bhutt, and revealed some interesting details.

(2) According to his report, information reached the Government of Bombay that one Purshottam Bhutt—the Nana's Pundit, was residing in a Poona temple in the disguise of an ascetic. Thereupon, two detectives were sent, one of whom Gaya Prasad knew the Nana by sight and knew Purshottam Bhutt personally. With another Jamadar Dwarka Tewari, Gaya Prasad went to Unkarnath and was met by three Brahamins whom he told that he wanted to find the Nana out as he was collecting an army for rebellion. The Brahamins agreed to show him the Nana provided he paid them Rs. 600/-. Travelling all over from Banswara, they reached Saloomber, and after two days saw Nana riding out with an escort. This escort was sent back soon and then Gaya Prasad met the Nana, who said that he was going to Badri Narain. But when Gaya Prasad told Nana that he had met him at Bittoor, the Nana became friendly and told him that he (Nana) was going to Bikaner to meet Tantia Topee and that the Begum of Lucknow, the Raja of Awah and Beni Madhow were at Saloomber and also Rao Sahib, the Gondah Raja and Goorbuchan Singh. The Nana

further said that he would return in the Dusserah when the Bikaner Rajah had promised him help and had already assisted him. He said the Bheendar, Ajeen, Kishenghur, Budnoor and Saloomber people were all for him, but that as yet he had had no communication with the Oudeypore and Jeypore Courts, but their Thakoors were all in his side.

(3) On reaching Ajmer, Dwarka Tiwari managed to inform the Dy. Commissioner. Nana further said that on leaving Nepal, he went to Kashmir where the Raja gave him Rs. 50,000/-, but did not assist him with men. The Nana further added that he had given his children 30 lacs of Rupees. Naroo Punt, Bhalla Butt told the detectives that he had been the Nana's agent at the Bareilly Fort, was at Kalpee and with Tantia Topee also. He also said that Tantia Topee was in Bikaner and the man hanged was a Brahmin named Tantia. The Bikaner Raja had given Tantia Topee 10 Sawars and there are 5000 old Bengal Sepoys in the Saloomber jungles and the independent States have taken Tantia Topee's force into service and should occasion offer, some 40000 men were said to be ready in Saloomber.

(4) The Nana was arrested at Ajmer through the intrigues of these two detectives. As regards the question of widespread intrigue in Rajpootana, Lawrence wrote that though he was sure that some Mutineers have found shelter in Saloomber, but there was nothing of a widespread intrigue and Gaya Prasad's statements need not be taken seriously.

The Nana was taken under escort to Cawnpore.



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